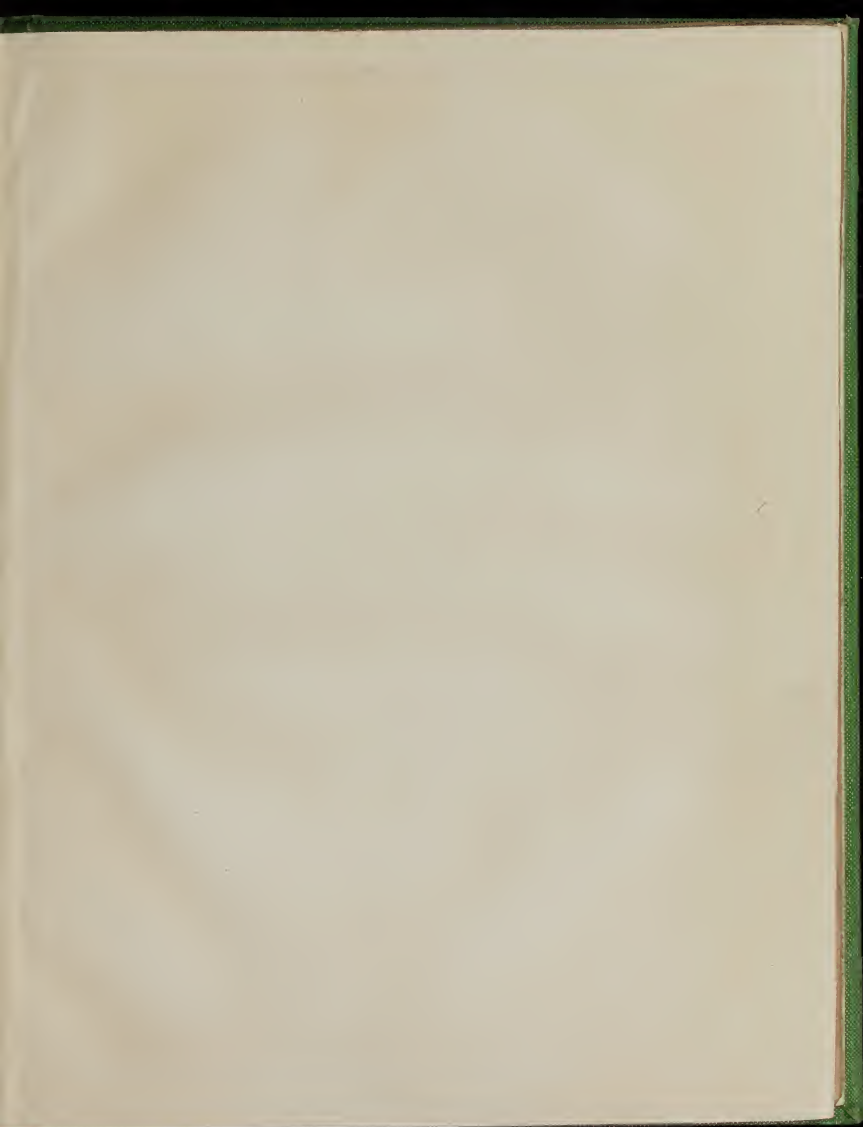


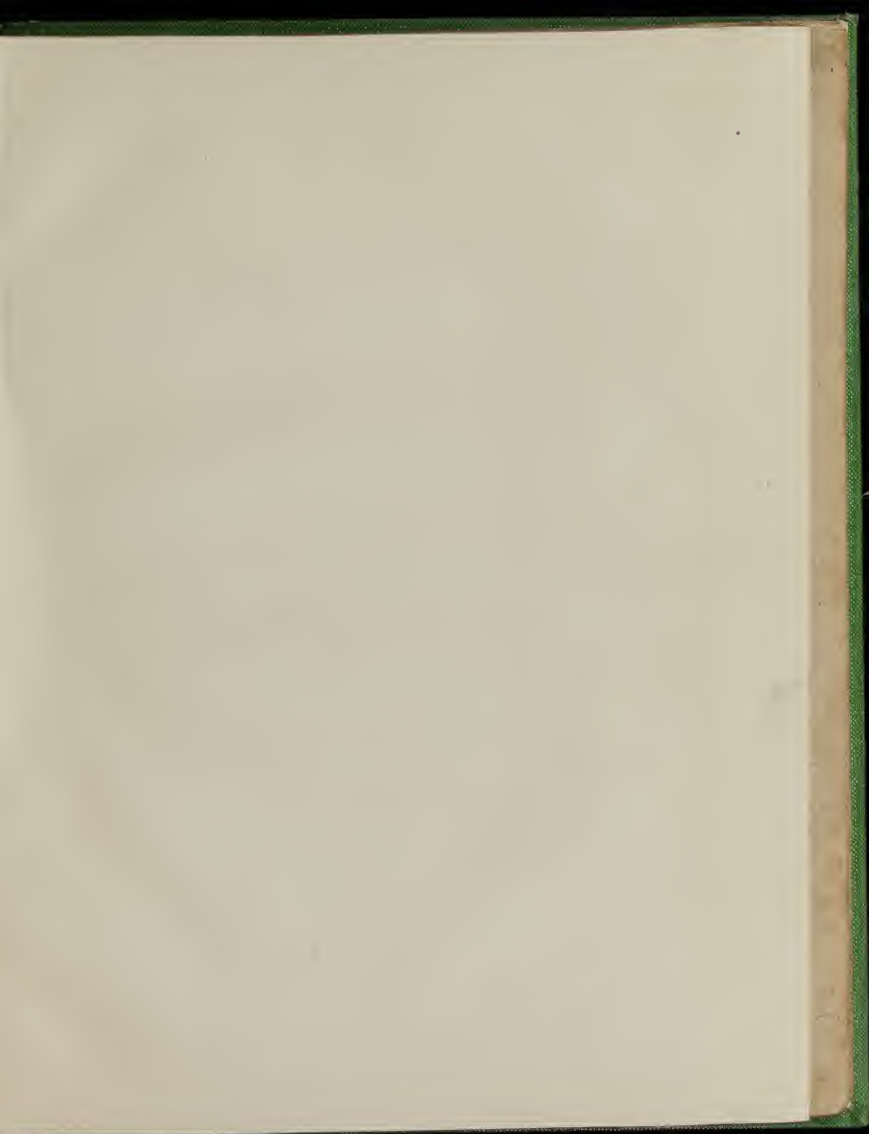
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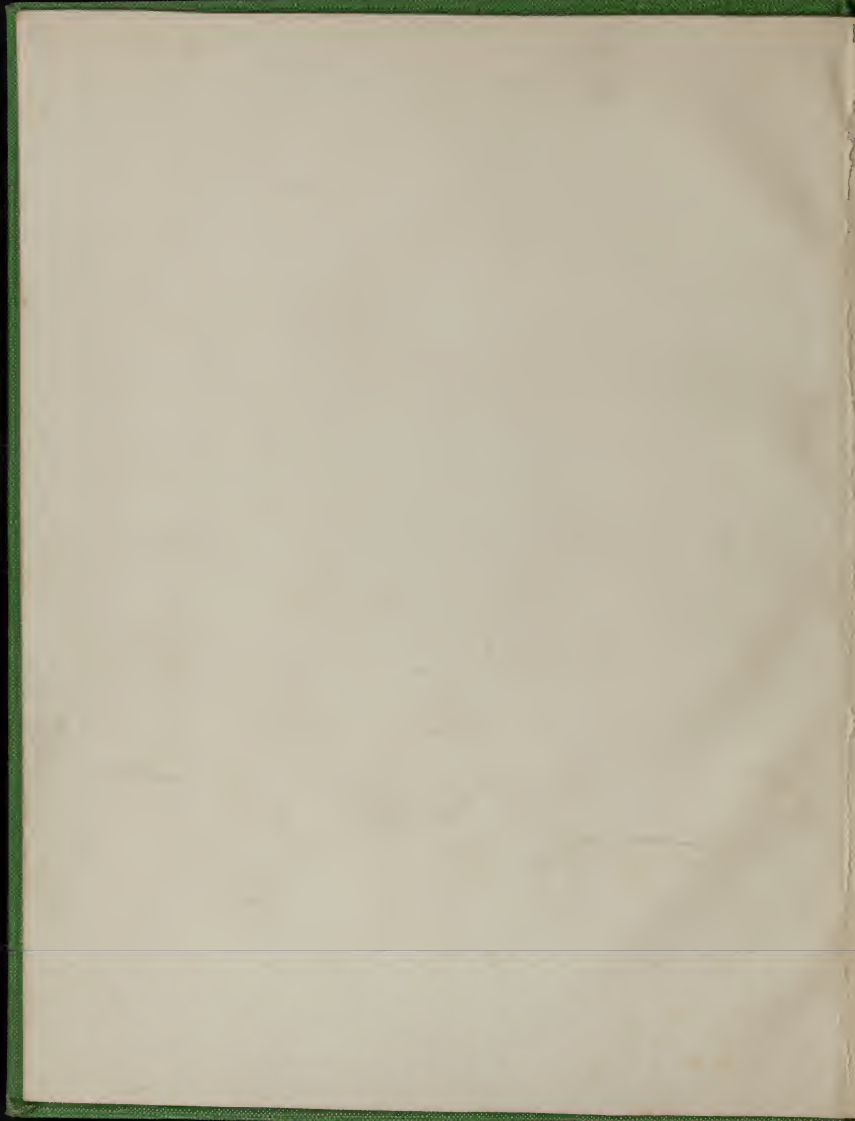
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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
INQUISITION,

As it is Exercised at

G O A.

Giving an account of the Horrid Cruelties
which are exercised therein.

Written in *French*, by the Ingenious Monsieur *Del-*
lon, who laboured five years under those severities.

With an Account of his Deliverance:

Translated into English.

London, Printed in the Year 1688.

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A O C

THE
TRANSLATOR
TO THE
READER.

THIS Translation was made from the French Copy, Printed by the direction of the Author at Paris, by Daniel Horthemels 1688, Octavo, with the permission of the King. The Author had intermixed a description of several Islands and Towns in the East Indies, and other places of his Travels; which, because they contained nothing curious or extraordinary in them, and did not in the least relate to the Story of the Inquisition, I have wholly omitted; which might easily be done without any disorder of the History, or Mutilation of the Sense, since the Author had comprised all his Geographical digressions in distinct Chapters, and thereby given a fair opportunity of omitting them. I have no more to acquaint the Reader, but only that the Author of this Relation was Monsieur Dellon, a person well known to the World by his ingenious Writings, particularly by his Relation of his Travels into the East Indies, Printed at Paris, 2 Vol. in Octavo.

*Mademoiselle Du Cambout De Coslin.**Madam,*

I Should be unjust to complain of the Rigours of the Inquisition; and the ill usage which I received from her Officers, since they have administred to me the subject matter of this Work, and thereby afforded me the advantage of Dedicating it to you. I should desire, Madam, to make a just use of so favourable an occasion, to have an Eloquence proportionable to my Zeal. I would employ it in speaking of so many excellent Qualities, wherewith Heaven hath so liberally endued you, which render you one of the most aimable Persons of the World, and cause you to be already admired by all those who know you. In truth there is observed in you a Goodness and Sweetness which Charm, a vivacity and penetration of Spirit which surprize, a Prudence and Discernment, which are not ordinary to Persons of your Age. But this, Madam, deserves our astonishment, that you are so accomplished; that to create a just Idea of you, and make your Elogy in few words, it doth not suffice to say that you are the worthy Daughter of two Persons, no less Eminent and Illustrious for their Piety, than for their Birth and Quality.

May Heaven grant, Madam, that your Merit may be followed by an uninterrupted Happines; that your Prosperity may surpass even the measure of your Desires; and that this Book, which I present to you, may be scattered into the most remote Provinces; not so much to instruct People in what passeth in the Tribunals of the Holy Office, as to preserve the memory of your Illustrious name; and serve for an Eternel Proof of that profound respect, wherewith I am,

*Madam,**Your most Humble, and**most Obedient Servant,**D****

The P R E F A C E.

IT is but too ordinary to find Books, whose pompous Titles promise much, and which deceiving the expectation of the Reader, contain nothing less, than what is hoped to be found in them. In this Book a quite opposite method is observed; and those who shall give themselves the trouble to read it, will grant that the Title doth but imperfectly express the matter of the Book.

I have contented my self to describe faithfully what I observed in the Inquisition, without insisting to make large Reflections on it, and have chose rather to leave to the Readers the liberty of doing that. Those who have already any light knowledge of the Holy Office, will make no difficulty to believe all which is here related; the whole is so far from receiving any exaggeration; and how extraordinary soever the Proceedings and Formalities of the Inquisition may appear, the Reader may be assured that there is nothing here related, which is not exactly true. I do not in the least hereby pretend to blame the Inquisition it self: I am willing to believe that the Institution of it is good; and it is certain that in those places where it first began, it is not exercised with so great Severity, as in Spain, Portugal, and the Countreys which depend upon these two Crowns, where it is received; but as all human Institutions, how excellent soever they be, are subject to Relaxation and Abuse, it is not to be admired, if Abuses have crept into the Tribunals of the Holy Office.

It is of these Abuses therefore only that I design to complain; however the Inquisitors, who affect so great Secrecy in whatsoever relates to their Tribunals, will perhaps be displeased, that I have taken the liberty to expose to the Publick, things, which it seemed so much their concern to keep concealed. But besides, that this discovery may, if they will make a right use of it, be serviceable to them also, I thought it my Duty no longer to deprive the Publick of a knowledge, which could not but be very useful to it. In effect, it very much concerns those Persons, whose Curiosity, or Business shall oblige them to live in those places, where the Holy Office exerciseth its Jurisdiction, that they be informed of what they ought to avoid or do, that they may

not

The PREFACE.

not fall into the hands of those Officers, and thereby undergo a Misfortune like to that, which makes the subject of this Relation.

An Extract of the Priviledge of the King.

BY the Grant and Priviledge of the King, given at *Versailles* the 21st day of *August* 1687. Signed, by the King in his Council, *Poullain*, it is permitted to the *Sieur D**** to cause a Book to be imprinted, Intituled, *A Relation of the Inquisition of Goa*, during the time and space of 8 years, to be accounted from the day, when the first Impression shall be finished. And it is forbidden to all Printers, Booksellers, and others, to Print, Sell, or Divulge the said Book, upon pain of the Penalties mentioned in the said Grant.

The said *Sieur D**** hath yielded and transferred his Right in the present Priviledge to *Daniel Horthemels*, to enjoy it according to the Agreement made between them.

A

A

RELATION

OF THE

Inquisition of Goa.

CHAP. I.

Motives which induced me to publish this Relation.

ALL the World knows in general what the Inquisition is, and that it is established in certain places, as *Italy*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*, and most of the Countrys which depend upon them, and that the Judges which possess it, exercise with much severity upon the people subject to them, a Judicature unheard of to other Tribunals. It is moreover known, that this Rigour is not every where equal, for the Inquisition of *Spain* is more severe than that of *Italy*, and less severe than that of *Portugal*, and the States depending on it.

The Maxims of this unheard of Judicature may be found in printed books, the examination of those Maxims, and the effects of them in diverse occasions; but I know none who hath given himself the Liberty to tell us what passeth in the recesses of this Tribunal. The Officers of this Judicature are too much intercessed in its conservation for to discover the secrets of it, and as for those who have had to do with these Magistrates, and their inferiour Officers, are informed of what is there practised, and have had some reason to complain of it. The fear of those terrible punishments, that are carefully inflicted upon those, who

shall be convinced not to have kept their Oath of Secrecy (which is extorted from them before they are set at Liberty) renders the Mysteries of the Inquisition so impenetrable, that it is almost impossible ever to learn the truth, unless to him who hath the unhappiness to be carried into her Prison, and make the experience of them in his own Person: Or to those who are instructed by any one, who had the happiness not to yield under so great an Adversity. Moreover, it is necessary that he who hath been shut up in the horrible Solitudes of the Holy Office, should have taken care, during his imprisonment, diligently to observe what passed; and after his enlargement, hath the courage to relate without any fear, what himself hath learned and experienced.

These are the reasons that very few persons truly know what passeth in that terrible Tribunal; and as after the obligation of rendring to God what we owe to him, there is no duty more pressing than that of serving our Neighbour, and especially the publick. I thought my self obliged to relate what I have suffered, and what I observed in the Prisons of the Inquisition at *Goa*; adding to it what I learned from credible persons, whom I knew familiarly during the time of my imprisonment, and after my enlargement.

I doubted a long time whether I ought to publish this Relation, for it is more than eight years since I returned into *France*, and it is more than four since this Relation was writ. I feared to scandalize the Holy Office, and violate my Oath, and this fear was confirmed in me by Pious, but timorous Persons, who were of the same Opinion as my self; but other persons no less Pious, and who seemed to me more Rational, at last convinced me, that it concerned the Publick upon many accounts to know this Tribunal well; that this Relation might be useful even to the Ministers of the Holy Office, if they knew how to profit by it; and much more to those who have a right to regulate the proceedings, and limit the jurisdiction of it. And as for the Oath of Secrecy, so unjustly extorted, as that is which the Inquisition extorteth under pain of burning; the publick good sufficiently dispenseth with it, for to set at liberty the Conscience of him who took it, and consequently puts him into a kind of obligation to relate what he knoweth.

See the Reasons which hindered me from publishing this Relation before, and those which now engage me to publish it at present; if the delay of it hath deprived the Publick of an useful knowledge; at least it will serve to assure me that I have precipitated nothing, and that the resentment of those ill treatments which I suffered, had no share in this account. In fine, what I here say of the Inquisition of *Goa*, is to be understood of those also of *Portugal* and *Spain*; for although this last be less cruel than the other two, upon this account, that those publick Executions,

tions, which they call *Acts of Faith*, are here less frequent ; and that there is a greater ignorance in the *Indies* than in *Portugal*. We see nevertheless by the Relation which the Gazette of *France* giveth the 12th of *August*, 1680. that the same Spirit, the same Rules, and the same Rigour, reign in all the Executions of the Inquisition in all these Countries ; forasmuch as there is even in the relation of the Gazette, circumstances much more terrible than those of the *Act of Faith*, which I underwent.

CHAP. II.

The Apparant causes of my Imprisonment.

I Had stayed at *Daman*, a Town of the *East-Indies* possess'd by *Portuguese*, for to refresh my self a little from the fatigues which I had suffer'd in my Voyages, and that I might put my self into a condition of continuing my Travels : But in the same place where I had hoped to have found rest, I found the beginning of much greater troubles, than all those which I had hitherto experienced. The true cause of all the Persecutions which the Ministers of the Inquisition made me endure, was an ill-grounded jealousy of the Governour of *Daman*. It is not hard to judge that this reason was never alledged in my process : Yet for to satisfy the passion of this Governour they made use of divers pretexts ; and they found at last the means of seizing me, and removing me from the *Indies*, where perhaps otherwise I had pass'd the rest of my days.

It must be acknowledged, that altho these pretexts, of which they made use, were very weak for persons instructed in the Faith, or in Law ; they were nevertheless too sufficient for such persons as the *Portuguese* are, in respect of their prejudices and maxims. Inasmuch as upon this account I thought them my self so plausible, that I discover'd not the true reasons of my detainment, but in the sequel of the affair.

The first occasion which I gave to my Enemies, to make use of the Inquisition to destroy me, was a discourse which I had with an *Indian* Monk, a Divine, of the Order of *St. Dominick*. But before I proceed any farther, I must premise, that altho my manners have not always been conformable to the Holiness of that Religion wherein I was Baptized, I have yet been always strongly addict'd to the Religion of my Forefathers, I mean to that of the Catholick, Apostolick and *Roman* Church ; and that God hath given to me more affections to the instructions which are received in it, than the greatest part of Christians ordinarily

narily have. Consequently I have always taken pleasure both to hear and read : And I never read any thing with so much diligence, as the Holy Scriptures, as well of the Old, as of the New Testament, which I commonly carry about with me. I had also taken care not to be Ignorant of the School Divinity ; because in long Travels there is a necessity of continual conversation with all sorts of People ; among whom may be found some of all Religions and Sects : And I freely disputed with Hereticks and Schismatics whom I found in my way. I carried with me Books fit for this purpose, and among others, an Abridgment of Divinity, writ by Father *Don Peter de St. Joseph Feuillant* ; and I was sufficiently instructed by discourse, and reading during my great leisure at Sea, and stay which I made in divers places of the *Indies*. I thought my self then in a condition of conversing, or even disputing with profest Divines, and I fell very Innocently into the Snare in talking with this Monk.

I lodged with the *Dominicans*, because of those earnest desires which they had made to me ; and I lived with them with much kindness and familiarity. I had served them also upon diverse occasions in acknowledgment of the honour which they did me in desiring my company, and in return of the friendship which they testified to me. We were oftentimes in dispute, and that which I had with the aforesaid Monk, was concerning the effects of Baptism : We both agreed in the three Species of Baptism, which the Catholick Church acknowledgeth, and it was only in way of discourse, not for that I doubted of it, that I would deny the effect of that Baptism, which they call *Fluminis* ; and for to maintain my opinion, I alledged that passage, *Whosoever is not born again of Water and of the Holy Ghost*, &c. Nevertheless I had scarce ended my discourse, but the good Father retired himself without answering one word, as if he had some pressing business ; and went, according to all appearance, to inform against me to the Commissary of the Holy Office. I afterwards discoursed several times with this same Monk ; and as he testified no coldness towards me, I was far from believing he had done to me so bad an Office.

I was oftentimes present in the Assemblies, where they carry about little Trunks, upon which is painted the Image of the Blessed Virgin, or that of some other Saint. The *Portuguese* are wont to kiss the Image which is upon this Trunk ; and those who have devotion to these Confraternities, put their Alms into these Boxes. Here it is free to give any thing or not ; but none can omit kissing the Image without giving scandal to the company. I was not then above 24 years old, and I had not all the Prudence requisite to a person who liveth among Strangers, to whose Customs it is fit to conform as much as may be ; and as I was not
then

then used to these sorts of Ceremonies, I refused oftentimes to take and kiss these Boxes; from whence they rashly inferred, that I contemned the Images, and consequently that I was an Heretick.

I was with a *Portuguese* Gentleman, on a time when he was about to let his sick Son blood: I saw that this young man had in his Bed the Image of the H. Virgin made of Ivory; as he loved this Image extremely, he kissed it often, and addressed his speech to it. This way of honouring Images is very ordinary among the *Portuguese*; and it created some reluctance in me, because in effect the Hereticks interpreting it ill, this hinders them as much as any thing from returning to the Church. I said then to this young man, that if he did not take heed, his Blood would fly upon the Image; and he answered me, That he could not find in his heart to lay it by; I represented to him that this would hinder the Operation: Then he reproached me that the *French* were Hereticks, and that they adored not Images: To which I answered, That I believed we ought to honour them, and that if it were permitted to use the word *Adore*, yet this ought only to be in respect of our Lord Jesus Christ: in which case also it were necessary, that this Adoration should be referred to Jesus Christ represented by these Images: and for this I cited the Council of *Trent*, Session 25. It happened about the same time that one of my Neighbours coming to visit me, and seeing a Crucifix upon my Pillow, said to me, Monsieur, remember to cover this Image, if by chance you take any Woman into Bed to you, and to take heed of it. How is it, said I, that you imagine by this mean to hide your self from the eyes of God? Are you of the mind of those debauched Women which are among you, who after they have shut their Chaplets and Boxes of Reliques, believe they may without any crime abandon themselves to all excess: Go Monsieur, have more noble thoughts of the Deity; and think not that a little Linnen can hide our sins from the eyes of God, who seeth even the secrets of our heart. In fine, what is this Crucifix, but a piece of Ivory? We stopt there, and my Neighbour having withdrawn, acquitted himself very well of his pretended duty in going to accuse me to the Commissary of the Inquisition. For it is to be known, that all persons living in Countrys subject to the jurisdiction of the Holy Office, are obliged under pain of the greater Excommunication, reserved to the grand Inquisitor, to declare within the space of thirty days, all which they have seen to be done, or heard to be spoke, touching the cases of which that Tribunal takes Cognizance. And because many people might slight this punishment, or doubt whether they have actually incurred it, for to oblige people to obey this Order punctually, the Inquisitors will, that those who fail in making this Declaration within the time limited by their Constitutions, shall be esteemed Guilty,

and consequently punished, as if themselves had committed the Crimes which they did not reveal: which causeth that in the matter of the Inquisition, Friends betray Friends, Fathers their Children, and that Children, by an indiscreet Zeal, forget all the respect which God and Nature oblige them to bear to those who gave them life.

The obstinacy which I shewed in refusing to wear a Chaplet about my Neck, contributed no less to make them believe I was an Heretick, than my refusal to kiss the Images; but that which served above all the rest as a motive to my imprisonment, and my condemnation, was, that being pressed in company, where a discourse was raised concerning the justice of men, I said that it much less deserved that name, than the name of injustice; that men judging not but according to appearances, which are too often deceitful, were subject to make very unequitable judgments; and that God alone knowing things as they are, there is none but God who can truly be call'd just. One of those before whom I spake, took me up, and told me, that generally speaking what I advance was true, that nevertheless there was this distinction to be made, that if true Justice were not to be found in *France*, they had this advantage above us, that among them might be bound a Tribunal whose decrees were no less just, and no less infallible than those of Jesus Christ. I then understanding very well that he meant the Inquisition, answered, Think you that the Inquisitors are less men and less subject to their passions than other Judges. Spake not to me so, answered this zealous defender of the Holy Office; if the Inquisitors sitting upon the Tribunal are infallible, it is because the Holy Ghost presides over their decisions. I could no longer bear a discourse, which appeared so unreasonable to me, and to prove to him by an example, that the Inquisitors were nothing less than what he pretended, I related to him the Adventure of Father *Ephraim de Nerves*, Capuchin and Apostolick Missionary into the *Indies*, who as *Monsieur de la Boulay le Gon* relateth in the History of his Travels, was arrested by the Inquisition purely out of envy, about seventeen years before, where they had kept him and very ill treated him for a long time, and I concluded in telling him that I made no doubt that this Monk was more Vertuous and Learned than those who had kept him thus in Prison, without so much as permitting him to read his Breviary. I added that I esteemed *France* happy in refusing ever to admit this severe Tribunal, and I thought my self so in not being subject to its Jurisdiction. This discourse failed not to be exactly related to the Father Commissary; and this added to what I have already said, served afterwards to make my process.

CHAP. III.

Of the Visit which I made to the Commissary of the Inquisition to Accuse my self, and ask Advice of him.

NOtwitstanding the inviolable secrecy which the Inquisition exacteth by Oath of all those who approach her Tribunals, I failed not to have some notice of the depositions which were made against me. The apprehension of falling into the hands of the Holy Office made me go to find out the Commissary, from whom I hoped for Counsel and Protection, because I had been recommended to him by Persons, who deserved that consideration should be had of them; and for that all the time I had been at *Daman* he had always affected to be accounted one of my friends. I therefore fairly related to him how things had passed; and praying him to instruct me in what manner I should behave my self for the future, assuring him that as I had never any ill design, so I was ready to amend my self, and even to recant, if he should judge that I had advanced any thing which was not convenient. This Father assured me that my proceeding had given Scandal to many People, that he was satisfied that my intention had not been ill, and that there was nothing in all which I had said absolutely Criminal, that nevertheless he advised me to accommodate my self a little to the fashion of the people, and not to speak so freely of these sorts of matters, and above all of Images, which I had often said ought not to be adored, which I had endeavoured to prove by Citations out of the Scriptures and the Fathers. That the people were in truth in some light Errours, which passed for a true devotion; but that it was not for me to undertake to correct and reform them.

I thanked the Commissary for the good advice which he had given me, and returned very well satisfied: Forasmuch as I knew that having accused my self before I was arrested, I could not according to the Laws of the Inquisition be any more accused. I was besides very well satisfied of the Justice and integrity of this Commissary, because that having not found me guilty, he had given me all necessary advice for my future conduct with so much prudence: Inasmuch as I could not any longer entertain the least shadow of Suspicion against my self.

CHAP. IV:

CHAP. IV.

Containing the true causes of my Imprisonment, and how they Arrested me.

ALTHOUGH all which I have laid down in the foregoing Chapters, was more than sufficient for to destroy me, according to the Maxims of the Inquisition, and the Custom of the Country; yet things had not gone on so far, or so hastily, if the Governour of *Daman*, called *Manuel Hurtado de Mendoza* had not been incited with that jealousy which I before mentioned; which he dissimuled so well, that he seemed to be one of my best friends, yet underhand he vigorously solicited the Commissary of the Holy Office to write to *Goa* to the Inquisitors for to inform them of the discourse which I had held, resolving not to lose the occasion which I had unadvisedly given him, of making sure of me, and removing me from *Daman* for ever. The reason of the jealousy of this Governour, was the frequent but innocent Visits which I paid to a Lady whom he loved, and of whom he was but too much enamoured, that which I then was ignorant of; and as he judged upon feeble appearances, he apprehended that I was more loved by her than himself.

A certain Black Frier, Secretary of the H. Office, lodged over against this Lady, he had for her no less strong a passion than the Governour, and had solicited her to satisfy his infamous desires, even in the Tribunals of Penance, as the Lady herself assured me. This Priest observing me, became as jealous as the Governour, and although till then he had been one of my friends, and that I had also done him very important services, he ceased not to join himself to *Manuel Hurtado* to oppress me.

These two Rivals thus united, pressed the Commissary so vigorously, that upon the advice which he sent at their solicitation to *Goa*, he received order from the Inquisition to arrest me, which was performed the evening of the 24th of *August*, 1673. as I was returning from visiting a Lady of great worth, called *Senora dona Francisca Pereira*, Wife of one of the chief Gentlemen of the Town, called *Manuel Peixoto de Gama*. This Lady was about 60 years old, she thought herself obliged to me for the life of her eldest Daughter, and of her Grand-daughter. And in truth, I had been so happy as not to be unserviceable to her. The eldest had fallen sick in the absence of her Mother, and the Impudence of an *Indian* Physician had reduced her to the last extremity. When I was called, I took in hand this sick Person and cured her; the Mother being returned,

returned, and ravished with joy for the cure of her beloved Daughter : her Grand-daughter, who was yet more dear to her, fell also sick, and that more dangerously than her Aunt ; nevertheless, I was not called at first for to see this young Patient, nor had they any recourse to me till her life was in a desperate condition. I found her in a very violent Fever, and although she was at the point of falling into a Phrenzy, the *Indian* Physician, far from thinking of letting her blood, had covered her head with Pepper, which I caused first to be taken off, and undertaking the cure, succeeded very well, inasmuch as my Patient recovered in a few days a perfect health. From that time this Lady seeking occasions of demonstrating her gratitude loaded me with Presents, and desiring that I would lodge near her ; she had given me a House over against her own. This was the same day which I before mentioned, wherein she had given me this House, and I departed from this so generous a Lady to return in the evening to my own Lodgings ; when the Criminal Judge of the Town, called in *Portuguese*, *Ouvidor de Crime*, came upon me, and commanded me to follow him into Prison ; whither I was carried without being able to obtain of him by what order he did this, till I was shut up in Prison.

How great soever my surprise was, when the Judge arrested me, yet as I was conscious of my own innocence, but above all because I imagined that I was seized upon some slight occasion ; I hoped, with sufficient probability, that *Manual Hurtado*, who had always professed much friendship towards me, would not permit that I should stay so much as one night in Prison. But when he who carried me thither told me, that it was by order of the Inquisition, my astonishment was so great, that I remained for some time immovable ; at last, having a little recollected my self, I desired to speak with the Commissary, but to heighten my misfortune, they told me, that he had parted that very day for *Goa* ; so that there remained to me no other comfort, than the hope which every one gave me, that I should be very shortly set at liberty ; because the justice of the H. Office was not only equitable, but inclined very much to mercy, especially towards those who acknowledged their fault betimes, without being a long while solicited to do it.

All these fine words hindered not my unhappiness from becoming very sensible to me ; and the sight of my friends, who failed not to come and comfort me, far from comforting, served only more extremely to afflict me, by the comparison which I made of their condition to my own. As I had no Enemies but hidden ones, they easily mixed themselves among my best friends : The Governour and the Black Friar, who desired nothing so much as my removal, knew admirably well

how to dissemble their hatred and their jealousy ; the first in sending to me the Officer of his house, to assure me of the sorrow which he conceived from my misfortune, and to offer all possible assistance to me ; the other in coming to the Grate, to shed some false tears, which joy, rather than compassion, drew from him.

CHAP. V.

Description of the Prison. I writ to the Inquisitors, who returned me no answer. Extreme misery of the Prisoners.

THE Prison of *Daman* is lower than the River, which is near to it, which makes it moist and unhealthy ; and it wanted but little that it was not overflowed some years since, by a hole which the Prisoners had made under the Wall, for to escape thereby. The Walls are very thick. The Prison consists in two large low Rooms, and one upper one. The Men are in the lower, the Women in the upper Room. Of the two lower Rooms, the greater is about 40 foot long, and 15 broad, and the other two thirds of this extension. We were in this space of ground about 40 Prisoners, and there was no other place to satisfy the ordinary necessities of nature but that. We made water in the middle of this Room, where the collection of these waters made a kind of Sea : and the Women had no better convenience in their stage, there being this only difference between them and us, that their waters ran from their high room through the Planks into ours, where all those different waters mixed together. For the other excrements, our only convenience was a large Basket, which was scarce emptied above once a week ; whereby an innumerable swarm of Worms were bred, which covered the pavement, and came even upon our Beds. While I staid in this Prison, the care which I took to have it cleansed, rendered it a little less horrible ; but altho I often caused even 50 Pitchers of Urine to be cast out in one day, yet the stink ceased not to be very great.

Scarce was I shut up in this sad dwelling, but making a serious reflexion upon my unhappiness, I easily discovered the cause, and resolved to forget nothing which might contribute to my enlargement. My friends continually told me, That my best and readiest way to recover my liberty, was to confess voluntarily, and at large, what I thought had procured my ruin. Being willing then to make use of their advice, I writ to *Goa* to the Grand Inquisitor, who is called in Portuguese, *Inquisidor mor* : I ingenuously declared to him in my Letter, all which I believed

lieved I could have been accused of; and desired him to consider, that if I had failed, it was rather through levity and imprudence, than malice. My Letter was delivered faithfully, but against my hope and the desire of my friends, they returned no answer to me, but suffered me to languish in this stinking and obscure Prison, in the company of diverse Negroes; who, as well as I, were arrested by Order of the H. Office.

The charitable care which *Dona Francisca* took of me all the time that I stay'd Prisoner at *Daman*, rendred my Captivity a little more supportable. This generous Lady contented not herself to send me what was necessary, but I received every day from her wherewith to nourish abundantly and delicately four persons. She herself took the trouble of dressing my meat, and always sent along with the Slave, who brought the meat, some of her Grand-Children, who might see me receive it; fearing lest any one should suborn her Domesticks or the Jaylor to poison me. And altho she could not come in person to comfort me in the Prison, she took care that her Husband, her Children, and her Sons-in-Law should come every day.

It was not so with the other Prisoners; there is no regulated subsistence for them at *Daman*: the Magistrates leave them to the Charity of whosoever have a mind to relieve them: And as there were in the whole Town but two persons, who sent them Meat duly twice a Week; the greatest part of the Prisoners receiving nothing upon other days, were reduced to so deplorable a misery, that this contributed not a little to imagine mine the greater I gave all that I could spare from my own subsistence, yet there were some of those unhappy persons, who were separated from us but by a Wall, who were forced by hunger to live upon their own Excrements. Upon this occasion I learned that some years before about Fifty *Malabar* Pirates being taken and shut up in this Room, the horrible Famine which they suffered, cast more than forty of them into such a despair that they strangled themselves with the Linnen of their Turbants. The extremity which those poor people endured that were with me, created much compassion in me, which induced me to write to the Governour, and to the Chief Men of the Town, who after that were so charitable as to send maintenance to these miserable Victims of the H. Office.

CHAP. VI.

The return of the Father Commissary. They remove me to Goa.

THE Commissary had not found me a Criminal in that Confession, which I went to make to him of my own accord, as I before said; and although he had found me a Criminal, yet ought I to remain free according to the Laws of the Inquisition. But as this was not the intention of the Governour and the Black Frier, this Father violating all these Laws, had accused me as a Dogmatizing Heretick; he might have sent me to the Inquisition of Goa immediately after my imprisonment, and if he had done so, I might have come out of Prison three months after, at the *Act of Faith*, which was performed in the *December* following. But this was not the intent of my Rivals, that I should be so soon at liberty, this is the reason why the Commissary far from removing me immediately from *Daman*, departed himself that he might not receive my desires and complaints, and went to Goa as soon as he caused me to be arrested, from whence he returned not till after the *Act of Faith*, that is to say, till the end of *December*; and I know not whether he employed the four months which he made me pass in the Prison of *Daman*, in commending me to the Inquisitor, as a Man very criminal, and very dangerous, whom it were necessary to remove from the *Indies*; rather I have reason to suspect it, by the rigour which they affected to use in my condemnation, which appeared so extraordinary even in *Portugal*. The Commissary returned then the 20th of *December*, with the little Fleet which goeth ordinarily in this Season from Goa to *Cambaia*, for to serve as a Convoy to the Merchant Ships. This Father who had order to cause all the Prisoners of the Inquisition to be embarked upon the *Gallies*, warned me to be ready to depart, when the Fleet should return from *Cambaia*.

Monsieur l'Able carre returning in the mean time from *St. Thome*, where was *Monsieur de la Haye*, and passing by *Daman*, having with much difficulty obtained leave to see me, was so kind as to visit me in the Prison upon the *Eve* and the day of *Christmas*, which was that of his departure to *Surrat*. I writ to the Commissary, and desired him by diverse persons, that he would speak with me; but neither my Letters, nor the solicitations of those who interested themselves for me could prevail with him; so much did he fear the just reproaches which I should have made to him upon account of his insincerity.

About the same time, a *Portuguese*, named *Manuel Vas*, whom I had known very particularly, being accused of having a Wife in *Portugal*,
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was arrested by order of the H. Office, and carried into the Prison where I was, for having married a second Wife a month since at *Daman*.

My generous Protectress understanding that I was to be removed to *Goa*, failed not to prepare provisions for me, which might have suffered for a much longer Voyage than what I was to perform. At last, part of the Fleet being returned from *Cambaia*, the Commissary sent Irons and Chains for to put upon the feet of all those who were to be carried to *Goa*. The Negroes were chained two and two, except some which were so wasted with famine endured in the Prisons, that they were forced in imbarquing them to leave them the liberty of their Feet, which yet they were not in any condition to make use of. As for the *Portuguese* and me, they did us the honour for to afford us separate Irons. The Commissary had also the Civility to tell me, that he left me the choice of two Chains, which were destined for his fellow Country-man and my self, and to make use of his civility, I chose the most convenient, although the heavier Chain. I went out of Prison with the rest on the last of *December*, and was carried in a Pelangvin with the Irons on my feet, to the bank of the River, where I found diverse of my friends met together, whom I had the liberty to embrace, and bid farewell to them. The Governour who was present, omitted nothing whereby he might persuade me of the sorrow which he took in my misfortune; and made a thousand counterfeit Prayers for my speedy deliverance and happy return. The sight of my friends and their tears, served only to augment my grief; but nothing was more grievous to me than the denial of taking leave of my Benefactress, whom I would have thanked for all her charitable care which she had taken of me; at last after many melancholy complements they put me into a Boat, and I was carried into one of the Galliot of this little Fleet, which expected only the Orders of their General for to weigh her Anchors.

C H A P. VII.

Departure from Daman. We pass to Bacaim, and stay there. Our Arrival at Goa.

Although one great part of the Galliot and Barques were not yet arrived from *Diu* and *Combaia*, the General, *Lewis de Mello*, ceased not to give the signal of departure to those which were then at *Daman*. From whence we parted the first day of the year 1674. with a design to go to *Bacaim*; to wait there till the rest of the Fleet should joyn us,

as the wind was favourable, and that we had not above 20 Leagues to Sail, we arrived there on the morrow, and had no sooner let down our Anchors, but all the Prisoners were immediately Landed, and carried into the Prisons of that Town to be kept there all the while the Ships should remain in the Haven. I was carried thither with the rest. One of my friends, who had been settled a while since at *Bacaim*, having in vain endeavoured to obtain leave to see me, assured me by a Letter that he had also much difficulty to let me know the part which he took in my misfortune.

The Prison of *Bacaim* is less nasty, and larger than that of *Daman*, we found there a good number of companions in misery; whom the Father Commissary of the Inquisition in that Town had detained Prisoners a long time, waiting for a fit occasion to send them to *Goa*. They were all Chained as we were. They put us aboard the 7th of the same Month, and all the Fleet being met together, and sufficiently provided with all things necessary, we weighed Anchors, and made Sail the next day.

There happened nothing remarkable to us during the rest of the Voyage. We Sailed always in sight of Land: And the Wind being pretty favourable to us, we arrived on the fourteenth at the Bar of *Goa*. Our Captain having immediately given advice to the Inquisitors, we landed the next day, and were carried to the Inquisition. But because there was no audience on that day, one of the Officers of the House caused us to be carried into the ordinary Prison; that is, into the Prison of the Archbishop of *Goa*: This Prison is called in *Portuguese*, *al Jowvar*. I entered one of the first, and saw all our unfortunate companions arrive by degrees, and meet together, after their dispersion during the Voyage.

This Prison is the most nasty, the most dark, and the most horrible of all which I ever saw; and I doubt whether a more nasty and horrible Prison can any where be found. It is a kind of Cave, wherein there is no day seen but by a very little passage; the most subtle rays of the Sun cannot enter into it, and there is never any true light in it. The stink of it is extreme; for there is no other place for the necessities of the Prisoners, than a dry Pit upon the floor, in the middle of the Cave, which a man dare scarce approach, insomuch as part of the ordure remained upon the side of the Pit, and the greatest part of the Prisoners went not so far, but eased themselves round about it. When night came, I durst not venture to lay my self down, as fearing the Vermin, whereof the Prison was full, and the ordures, wherewith it was scattered all over, but was forced to pass away the night, leaning against a Wall: Nevertheless, as horrible as this dwelling was, I should have preferred it to the private and lightsome Chambers of the Holy Inquisition; because there was company and conversation to be had in the

al fourvar, whereas I was informed there was none in the Prisons of the Holy Office.

CHAP. VIII.

How I was conducted to the Inquisition, and what is done to them who are shut up in Prison.

I Began to flatter my self that they would suffer me to remain in the *al fourvar*, till my Affair should be ended; because they had left us there all the day and the night following. But I saw all my hopes to vanish, when on the 16th day of *January* an Officer came at Eight of the Clock in the morning with order to carry us to the Holy House: Which was immediately put into Execution. It was not without great trouble that I got to the place whither they conducted me, because of the Irons I had upon my Leggs. Yet were we in this lamentable equipage forced to walk the whole way from the *al fourvar* to the Inquisition. Being helped to ascend the stairs I entred with my Companions into the great Hall, where we found Smiths, who took our Irons off; after which I was first called to audience.

After I had crossed the Hall I passed in an Antichamber; and from thence to the place where my Judge was. This place, which is called by the *Portuguese*, *Mela do Santo Officio*, that is, *the Table of the Holy Office*, was spread with diverse pieces of Taffeta, some Blue, others Orange-colour. At one of the ends was placed a great Crucifix in Relief, which reached almost to the Plancher. There is in the middle of the Chamber a great Scaffold, upon which is placed a Table about 15 foot long and 4 broad, and round about Rails, even upon the Scaffold. At one of the ends of this Table, and upon the side of the Crucifix, was the Secretary sitting upon a folding Stool. I was placed at the other end, over against the Secretary: Just by me, and on my Right hand, was within a Rail the Grand Inquisitor of the *Indies*, called *Francisco Del Gudo e Mates*, a Secular Priest, about 40 years old; because of the two Inquisitors which are ordinarily at *Goa*, the Second, which is always a Religious of the Order of St. *Dominick*, was gone a little before into *Portugal*, and that none had been yet named to supply his place.

As soon as I was entred into the Chamber of Audience, I cast my self at the feet of my Judge, imagining to mollifie him by this humble posture: But he would not suffer me to continue in that posture, commanding me to arise. Then having asked my name and my profession,

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he enquired whether I knew for what reason I had been arrested, and advised me to declare it at large; since this was the only means to recover my liberty speedily. After I had satisfied his two first questions, I told him I believed I knew the reason of my detention; and that if he would have the goodness to hear me, I would accuse my self upon the spot. I mixed my tears with my prayers, and once more prostrated my self at his feet: But my Judge, without being moved, told me it signified nothing; that he had then more important business to handle than mine was; and that he would cause me to be advertised when he should resume my affair: and so immediately ringing a little Bell of Silver which was before him, he made use of it to call the *Alcaide*, or Jaylor of the Holy Office; who entred into the Chamber, from whence he led me, and carried me into a long Gallery not far off, whither the Secretary followed us: Thither I saw my Trunk brought, which was opened in my presence; they searched me also narrowly, and took from me all which I had about me, to my very Buttons, and a Ring which I had upon my finger; without leaving me any thing except my Chaplet and my Handkerchief, and some pieces of Gold which I had sowed up in one of my Garters, which they forgot to search. Of all the rest they immediately made a pretty exact Inventory, which afterwards was wholly unuseful to me; for all that was valuable was never restored to me, although at that time the Secretary had assured me, that at my enlargement all should be faithfully returned into my hands: and the Inquisitor himself had after that oftentimes reiterated the same promise.

This Inventory being finished, the *Alcaide* took me by the hand, and led me bare-headed into a little Cell of ten footsquare, where I was shut up all alone without sight of any one till the evening, when they brought me my Supper. As I had eaten nothing either this or the foregoing day, I received very gladly what they gave to me; and this contributed to give me a little rest the following night. When they came the next day to give me wherewith to break my fast, I asked for my Books and my Combs. But I soon understood that they gave the first to no body, not even the Breviary to Priests; and that the second, were no longer necessary to me, my hair being immediately cut off; which is done to all the Prisoners of what condition or sex soever, the first day that they enter into these *Holy Prisons*, or on the morrow at the latest.

I must here for some time interrupt the account of what particularly respects my self, to describe succinctly this house, with the Orders and Formalities that are observed in it.

CHAP. IX.

Description of the Inquisition of Goa.

THE House of the Inquisition, which the *Portuguese* call *Santa Casa*, that is, the Holy House, is situated on one side of the great space which is before the Cathedral Church Dedicated to *St. Catherine*. This House is great and magnificent, having in its front 3 Gates, that in the middle is larger than the other, and it is by this that they ascend into the great Stair-case which leadeth into the Hall before mentioned. The Gates on the sides lead to the apartments of the Inquisitors, of which every one is large enough to lodge a reasonable train. There is within it diverse other apartments for the Officers of the House; and in passing farther, may be seen a large Building divided into diverse Lodgings, in two Stories, separated the one from the other by Back-courts. There is in every Stage a Gallery, one ten foot square; and the number of these Chambers may be in all two hundred.

The little Cells of one of these Dormitories are dark, without any Window, lower and lesser than the others; and they shew'd me them one day, when I complained that I was treated with too much rigour, to let me know that I might have been worse provided than I was. The others are square, vaulted, whited, private, and enlightned by means of a little grate Window, which shutteth not; and to which the tallest man cannot reach. The Walls are throughout 5 foot thick; every Chamber is shut with two doors, the one on the inside, and the other on the outside of the Wall; that within consists of two folding leaves, is strong, well bolted, and opened from the lower part like a grate. It hath in the upper part a little Window, by which the Prisoners receive their Meat, their Linnen, and other things whereof they have need, and which can pass through it. This Window hath a little shutter to it, which is shut with two strong bolts. The door which is on the outside of the Wall, is not so strong nor so thick as the other, but is whole, and without any Window; they leave that ordinarily open from six in the morning to eleven, that the Wind may enter in by the Clefs of the other door, and so the air of the Chamber may be purified.

C H A P. X.

In what manner the Prisoners of the Inquisition are treated.

They give to every one of those, whom their unhappiness leads into these Holy Prisons, an Earthen Pot full of Water to wash themselves; another more convenient of those which are called *Gurguleta*, also full of Water to drink, with a Pucaro or Cup made of a kind of fine earth, which is commonly found in the *Indies*, and which cooleth the Water admirably well, after it hath stood in it for some while. They give them also a Broom to keep their Chamber clean; a Mat to spread upon the floor where they lye; a great Basin which is changed every four days, and a pot to cover it; which serveth also to put the filth in which is swept up. The Prisoners are there pretty well treated, they have three Meals in a day, that is, Breakfast at six a Clock of the morning, Dinner at ten, and Supper at four a Clock in the evening. The breakfast of the *Negroes* is ordinarily Cange, which is Water thickned with Rice. For their other Meals they always make use of Rice and Fish. The *Whites* or *Europeans* are better treated. They carry to them in the morning a little soft bread, weighing about 3 Ounces, with fried Fish, Fruits, and a Sauſage, if it be *Sunday*, and sometimes also upon *Thursday*. They gave them also flesh to dinner on these two days, with a little bread as in the morning; a Plate of Rice with some *Ragout*, and much sawce, to mingle with the Rice which is boiled only with Water and Salt. On all other days they have nothing to Dinner but Fish, for Supper they bring to them in like manner Bread, fried Fish, a Plate of Rice, and a *Ragout* of Fish or of Eggs, whose sawce may be eaten with the Rice. As for flesh, they never make use of it to Supper, not even upon *Easterday*. I think that this way of life is not observed so much out of sparingness, fish being a very good commodity in the *Indies*, as for to mortifie the more those who have incurred the greater Excommunication, and to preserve them, at the same time, from that cruel disease which the *Indians* call *Mordechi*, which is nothing else but indigestion, a disease very frequent and dangerous in these Climats; and above all, in a place where no exercise is performed.

They take care to give the sick Persons all things necessary for them. The Physicians and the Chirurgeons fail not to visit them at all requisite times; and if the sickness grows dangerous, they assign Confessors to them. But they administer to none within this Holy House, either the Eucharist, or Extreme Unction. As also they never hear Mass there.

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Those who die within these Prisons, are buried in the house without any ceremony. And if they are judged worthy of death according to the maxims of this Tribunal; they are digged up, and their bones are kept to be burnt at the next *Act of Faith*. I will relate in another place the particularities of this Ceremony.

As it is always very hot in the *Indies*, and in the Inquisition no Books are allowed to any person, the Prisoners never see any fire, nor other light than that of the day. There is in every Cell two Couches to lye upon, because when necessity requireth it, they shut up two persons together. Besides the Matt which is given to every one, the White Men have moreover a Coverlet, which serveth instead of a Matt, there being no need of it to cover themselves, unless it be to avoid the persecution of those Flies, which are called *Cousins*; and are there in very great numbers, and which cause one of the greatest inconveniencies, that is to be found in this melancholy retirement.

C H A P. XI.

Wherein is treated of the Officers of the Inquisition.

There is at *Goa* two Inquisitors. The first whom they call *Inquisidor mor*, or the great Inquisitor, is always a Secular Priest, and the second a Religious, of the Order of *St. Dominick*. The Holy Office hath also Officers, whom they call *Deputies of the Holy Office*; these are in greater number. There is of all Religious Orders: They assist at the Trial of the accused persons, at their examination and forming of their Process; but they never come into the Tribunal without being sent for by the Inquisitor.

There are others, whom they call *Calificadores of the Holy Office*; to whom they assign the care of examining in Books, the propositions which they suspect to be contrary to the purity of Faith. And these assist not at the Trials, nor come to the Tribunals, but only their report concerning the things which are committed to their charge.

There is moreover a Promoter, a Procurator, and Advocates for the Prisoners who desire them, who serve not so much to defend them, as to pump out their most secret thoughts, and to betray them: And even although there should be no reason to doubt of their fidelity, their protection would yet be wholly unuseful to the accused persons, since those Advocates never speak to them but in the presence of the Judges, or of persons whom they send to give an account of these Conferences. The

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Inquisition hath other Officers, whom they call *Familiars of the Holy Office*, who are properly the Sergeants of this Tribunal. Persons of all conditions are ambitious to be admitted into this noble function, altho they be Dukes or Princes. They employ them to go and arrest accused persons; and they are wont ordinarily to send a *Familiar of Quality* for him whom they would apprehend. These Officers have no wages, and they esteem it sufficient recompence to have the honour to serve so holy a Tribunal. They carry always as a mark of Honour, a Medal of Gold, upon which are engraved the Arms of the Holy Office. They go alone when they intend to arrest any one; and as soon as they have declared to any person that they are called by the Inquisitors, every one is obliged to follow them without replying; for if any one should in the least resist, the whole multitude of people would not fail to lend their assistance for the execution of the Orders of the Holy Office. Besides all these Officers, there are also Secretaries, true Sergeants, whom they call *Meirinhos*, an *Alcaide* or Jaylor, and guards to watch over the Prisoners, and bring them their meat, with other things necessary.

C H A P. XII.

*In what manner the Officers of the Inquisition behave themselves to-
wards the Prisoners.*

AS all the Prisoners are separated, and that it seldom happens that two are put together, four persons are more than sufficient to guard two hundred. They cause a perpetual silence to be in the Inquisition; and those who would lament themselves, weep, or even pray to God too loud; put themselves in danger of receiving blows, with a Switch, from the Guards; who at the least noise which they hear, run to the place whence it cometh to give them notice to be silent; and if Obedience be wanting to the second command, they open the Doors, and beat the Prisoners without mercy; which serveth not only to correct those which they chastize in this manner, but also to terrifie the rest, who all hear the cries and the blows, by reason of the profound silence which is observed every where. The *Alcaide* and the Guards are continually in the Galleries, and they lye there all night.

The Inquisitor, accompanied with a Secretary and an Interpreter, visiteth all the Prisoners from two to two months, or thereabouts, for to ask them if they want any thing; whether their Meat be brought to them at the prescribed hours, and whether they have not any complaints

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to make against the Officers which are about them. As soon as answer is made upon these 3 Articles they immediately shut the door. In truth, these Visits are made only to set forth that Justice and Goodness whereof they make Ostentation in this Tribunal, but produce not the least profit or assistance to the Prisoners who make their Complaints, since they are not at all the more kindly treated. Those among the Prisoners who possess any proper Goods, are no whit better treated than those who have none; and they furnish to the last necessities from what is confiscated from the others. For the Holy Office very seldom fails to confiscate all the Goods, moveable and immoveable, of those who have the misfortune to fall into their hands.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Formalities which are observed in the Inquisition.

When any person is brought before the Inquisition, they first of all ask him his Name, his Profession, or his Quality; then they exhort him to give an exact account of all his Goods; and to induce him the more easily to it, they signify to him on the part of Jesus Christ, that if he be innocent, all which he shall have declared to be his, shall be faithfully restored to him; and that on the contrary, even although his innocence should be clearly proved, all which could be afterwards discovered to belong to him, which he had not acknowledged, should remain confiscated, and be lost to him. And because almost all persons are prepossessed with an Opinion of the Holiness and Integrity of this Tribunal; a person to whom his own Conscience reproacheth not any Crime, not doubting but that his innocence will be demonstrated, and that consequently his liberty will be restored to him, maketh no scruple to reveal to these Inquisitors whatsoever is most secret, and of greatest importance, within his Affairs and whole Family.

It is not without some apparant reason that the Publick is prepossessed in favour of this Tribunal; for to consider only the external part of it, there is no Judicature in the World wherein Justice is exercised with greater Sweetness and Charity. Those who accuse themselves of their own accord, and who testify their Repen'ance before they are apprehended, remain free, and are not liable to be Imprisoned; it is true, that they there look upon such as Criminals, who accuse not themselves before their Imprisonment, and that they condemn them as such: But they never punish any person with any temporal punishment which proceed-

eth to Death, except those who are manifestly Convicted. They are not contented there with two or three Witnesses, as in other *Laick* Judicatures, for to look upon an accused person as a Convicted Criminal; and although two Witnesses suffice to decree the apprehension of any man, it is required that there be, at least, seven to condemn him. How enormous soever the Crime be, whereof the accused person is a reputed Convict, the Holy Office content it self with the Ecclesiastical punishment of Excommunication, and the Confiscation of his Goods. And in respect of Temporal and Corporal punishments, for which the Criminal is owing to the *Laick* Justice, if he acknowledgeth his Crime, he is quitted for that time: The Holy Office intercedes for him, suspends the Secular Arm, and obtaineth pardon for the Criminal. Neither are there any exhortations, or instances, which they will not make to produce this acknowledgment; it is true, that if he relapseth into his Crime, the Inquisition cannot any longer save him, but she abandons him unwillingly, and delivers him not to the Secular Arm, till after she hath obtained of the Lay Judges, that if they persist in their resolutions of punishing the relapsed Criminal with Death, it shall be, at least, without effusion of blood; what gentleness is this?

But after having said all which can be alledged in favour of the Holy Office, we must add some Circumstances, which will manifest what is to be expected from this apparant goodness and charity. The Witnesses are never confronted; they receive for Witnesses all sorts of persons, even those who are interested in the life and condemnation of the accused person. They never admit any objection to be made by the accused against Witnesses the most notoriously unworthy of being heard, and most incapable of deposing against him. The number of these Witnesses is oftentimes reduced to five; they comprehend in the number of these Witnesses the pretended Complices, who depose only in time of torture, and who can save their lives no otherwise than by confessing that which they never did. And in this number of seven, the pretended guilty person is comprehended, who confessing in torture the crime which he never committed, is reputed a Witness against himself. Oftentimes, also, this number of seven is reduced to none, because it is composed only of pretended Complices, who are truly innocent of the crime which they impose upon them; and whom the Inquisition renders truly criminal, in forcing them either by threats of fire, or by torture, to accuse the innocent to save their own lives. For to understand well this Mystery, we are to know, that among the ruines which the Inquisition hath right to take cognizance of, there are some which may be committed in that manner, that one alone is guilty, as Blasphemy, Impiety, &c. There are others which cannot be committed without ha-

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ving at least one Complice, as Sodomy. And lastly, there are others which cannot be committed without having diverse Complices; as to have assisted at the *Jewish* Sabbath, or to have partaken in those Superstitious Assemblies, which the Converted Idolaters have so much difficulty to quit, and which they treat as Magick and Sorcery; because they are held to discover secret things, or for to know future Events, by methods which do not naturally lead to such knowledge.

It is particularly in respect, and upon occasion of these Crimes, which cannot be committed but with one or more Complices, that the proceedings of the Holy Office are more strange and more extraordinary. The *Jews* having been driven out of *Spain* by *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon*, and *Isabelle* Queen of *Castile*, his Wife, they fled into *Portugal*, where they were received upon condition of embracing Christianity, which they did, at least in appearance. But as the name of *Jew* is odious throughout the whole World, they always distinguished the Christian Families from the Families of the converted *Jews*; and they at this day call those who are descended from them, in any degree whatsoever, *Christians novos*, that is to say, New Christians. And because in process of time, some have contracted alliance with the Ancient Christians, they upbraid it continually to their Successors, that they partly *New Christians*, which the *Portuguese* express, by saying, *tem parte de Christiano novo*. Inasmuch; that although their Grandfathers, or Great Grandfathers were Christians, these unhappy persons shall never be able to obtain admission into the number of *Christians Velhos*, or *Ancient Christians*. And as the Families, which are descended thus directly, or in part from these *Jews*, are distinctly known in *Portugal*, where they make the object of the hatred and horror of others; they are forced to unite themselves more strictly together, to render to each other that mutual assistance which they cannot hope for from others. And it is this very union which augmenteth the contempt and hatred of them; and which is the ordinary cause of their misfortunes.

C H A P. XIV.

Of the Injustice which is committed by the Inquisition, in respect of Persons accused of Judaism.

FOR to illustrate this matter well, I will suppose, that a new Christian, but who nevertheless is very sincerely and truly a Christian descended from these unfortunate Families, is arrested by order of the Holy

ly Office ; and that he is accused not only by seven Witnesses, but by fifty, if you will. This man who is assured of his own innocence, which he hopeth will be undoubtedly acknowledged, maketh no scruple to give to his Judge an exact declaration of all his goods ; which he believeth will be faithfully restored to him. Nevertheless these Gentlemen no sooner get them into their Hands, but they sell them publicly, as being well assured that they shall never restore any thing.

Some months being passed, this Man is called to Audience, for to ask him, if he knows why he is put in Prison ; to which he fails not to answer, that he knoweth no reason : He is then exhorted to consider seriously, and to tell them ; since this is the only means speedily to recover his Liberty ; after which he is remitted to his Lodgings. He is again brought to Audience some time after, and is asked diverse times in the same manner, without drawing any other answer from him. But at last the time of the *Lauta Dafe* approaching, the Promotor presents himself, and declares to him, that he is accused by a good number of unexceptionable Witnesses to have Judaized ; which consisteth in observing the Ceremonies of the *Mosaic Law*, as not to eat Swines Flesh, an Hare, or Fish without Scales ; to have assembled with others and solemnized the Sabbath day : to have eaten the Paschal Lamb, and so in the rest. He is then conjured by the Bowels of the Mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ (for these are the proper terms which they affect to use in this Holy House) voluntarily to confess his Crimes ; since this is the only means which remain for him to save his Life : and that the Holy Office seeketh all possible means not to suffer him to destroy himself. This innocent Man persisteth in denying what is charged on him, and hereupon he is condemned as a *Negative Convicted Person*, (that is to say, one who is convicted, but will not confess his Crime) to be delivered up to the Secular Arm, to be punished according to the Laws, that is, for to be burnt.

Yet they never discontinue to exhort him to accuse himself ; and provided that he do it before the Eve of his being led forth to Execution, he may yet avoid death. But if he persist to protest his Innocence, maugre all Exhortations, Sollicitations, and even Torture it self, which are used to oblige him to accuse himself ; at last they signify to him the Decree of his Execution on the *Friday*, which immediately precedeth the *Sunday* of his being carried forth. This signification is made in presence of a Serjeant of the Secular Justice, who casteth a Cord upon the Hands of the pretended Guilty Person, in token that he taketh possession of him, after that the Ecclesiastical Justice hath abandoned him ; after that a Confessor is brought in, who never leaveth the condemned Person either Night or Day : who never ceaseth to press him particularly, and exhort

exhort him to confess that whereof he is accused, that he may thereby save his Life. An innocent Man must needs then find himself in a great perplexity. If he continueth to deny till *Sunday*, he is cruelly put to death the same day; and if he accuseth himself, he becometh infamous and miserable for his whole Life. Nevertheless, if the Exhortations of his Confessor, and the fear of the Punishment, induce him to confess Crimes which he never committed, he must desire to be carried to Audience, which fails not to be immediately granted. Being there in presence of his Judges, he must first declare himself Guilty, and then ask pardon as well for his Crimes, as his Obstinacy, in refusing so long to confess them. And as they always imagine, they have reason to believe they accuse themselves sincerely, they oblige him to relate all his faults and errors particularly: And so this innocent man, to whom they have already signified the dispositions of his enemies, not being able to perform what is required of him, is forced to repeat that, which he had before heard told to him. This man may then, perhaps, imagineth he shall be wholly quitted; but there remain things to be done by him incomparably more difficult than all which he hath hitherto done; for the Inquisitors fail not to speak to him very near, in this manner. If you have been at the Assemblies upon the Sabbath day, as you say; and that your accusers have been there present, as is very probable; for to convince us of the sincerity of your repentance, it is necessary that you name not only those who have accused you, but moreover all those who have been with you at these Assemblies.

It is not easie to discover the reason which induced *Messieurs* of the Holy Office, to oblige these pretended *Jews* to guess the Witnesses which have accused them; unless it be that the Witnesses of assembling in the Sabbath are complices of the fact. But how shall this poor innocent be able to guess? And if he should be guilty, for what end is it that he must name them to the Holy Office, which already knows them, since she hath received their deposition, and that it is only upon account of this deposition that she thus treateth the accused person as guilty? In all other cases they permit not that the Criminals shall know their Witnesses, against whom they would have objections to alledge; here they force them to guess who they are. They are Complices, I grant it; but the Inquisition will not a bit the better know them after the accused person shall have named them. If they accuse themselves voluntarily, the Inquisition hath no more to say to them. If they have been forced to confess their crimes in the Prisons of the Inquisition, they are there still where they were before; and it concerns not the Holy Office to make the accused person guess their names; himself will not become thereby the more innocent, nor they the less guilty. The accused

person and the witnesses are equally in the power of the Inquisition; what is then the Design and Interest of these Judges? Unless, it be to cause that this man should accuse all his Complices in seeking to guess out his Witnesses. This may serve for somewhat if he be truly guilty, but if he be not, this necessity of guessing cannot but involve the Innocents; and so it happens, for this poor new Christian being forced to name people whom he knows not, to the Inquisition, who knows them (since without that, the confession of a crime, whereof he is innocent, would nothing avail him, to save him from the fire.) Reasons very near thus. It must necessarily be, that those who have accused me, should be of my kindred, of my friends, of my neighbours; and lastly, some of the new Christians, whose company I have wont to frequent: For the ancient Christians are never almost accused or suspected of Judaism. And it may be that these persons have been reduced to the same condition wherein I am at present; it is necessary therefore that I accuse all round about me: and as it is not possible that I should guess punctually, and in order, those who have deposed against him, to find out the six or seven persons who have accused him, he is necessarily obliged to name a great number of innocent persons who had never thought of him; against whom, nevertheless, himself becomes a Witness by his declaration, which is oftentimes sufficient to cause them to be arrested, and keep them in the Prisons of the Holy Office, till with time they can get seven Witnesses against them, as against him, whom I have already supposed; which will be sufficient to cause them to be condemned to the fire.

C H A P. XV.

Wherein is farther treated of the Formalities, which are observed in the Inquisition.

IT is easie to know by what hath been already said in the precedent Chapter, that these miserable Victims of the Inquisition mutually accuse one another; and that a man may by this means be very innocent, although he hath fifty Witnesses against him; and yet this man as innocent as he is, for want of accusing himself, or of guessing well, is delivered to the Executioners as sufficiently convicted; which would never happen, or at least very seldom, if they took care to confront the accusers, witnesses, and accused persons.

All which is practised against persons suspected of Judaism, and all which hath been hitherto said, is to be understood also of persons become

come suspected of Sorcery ; because they are supposed to have been present at those superstitious assemblies which I before mentioned. And here the difficulty of naming their pretended complices and accusers is much greater, because they are not as the New Christians, to seek their witnesses, and their complices, in a certain species of men. But it is necessary that they find them at a venture, and indifferently, among their whole acquaintance, friends, kindred, enemies, neutrals of all professions, which takes in many more innocents into these fortuitons and forced accusations ; because they must name a greater number, to meet in this multitude of innocents with the witnesses, concerning whom they are asked.

The Goods both of those who are punished with Death, and of those who avoid it by their confession, are equally confiscated ; because they are all reputed guilty. And as the Inquisitors desire not so much their Lives as their Goods, and that according to the Laws of the Tribunal, they deliver none over to the Secular Arm but relapsed persons, and those who will not subscribe to their Accnsations ; these Judges use all possible Arts to induce the Prisoners to confess, not forgetting to rack them, to force them to it. They are also so merciful as to Rack these accused persons in a most violent manner, for to save their Lives in forcing them to confess the Crimes whereof they are accused ; but the true reason which makes them so passionately desire that one should accuse himself, is that a man having confessed himself guilty, the World hath no longer any reason to doubt that his Goods were justly confiscated. And because remitting the punishment of Death to these pretended Criminals, they dazzle the eyes of the Simple with an apparant Goodness and Justice, which contributes, not a little, to preserve the Idea commonly entertained of the holiness and gentleness of this Tribunal ; without which Artifice, it could not any long time subsist. It will not be amiss here to let the Reader know, that those who have thus escaped the fire by their forced Confession, when they are out of the Prison of the Holy Office, are strictly obliged to publish that they were treated with much goodness and clemency, since their life was preserved to them, which they had justly forfeited. For if a man who having confessed himself guilty, should afterwards presume to justify himself after his enlargement, he would be immediately accused, arrested, and burnt at the first *Act of Faith*, without any hope of pardon.

C H A P. XVI.

Other kinds of Injustice which are ordinarily committed in the Inquisition.

IF Christians are often put to death falsely accused, and slenderly convicted of having Judaized; as the Judges of the Holy Office would themselves soon acknowledge, if they would take the pains to examine the matter without prejudice, and consider, that among an hundred Persons condemned to the Fire, as *Jews*, there are scarce found four, who profess this Law at their death, the rest crying out and protesting to their last breath, that they are Christians, that they have been so all their Lives, that they adore Jesus Christ as their only and true God, and that it is wholly upon his Mercies and the Merits of his adorable Blood that they found all their hopes. But the cries and declarations of these unhappy Persons, if we may so call them, who suffer for not acknowledging a Lye, cannot in the least move these Gentlemen, who imagine that this authentick Confession of their Faith, which so great a number of People make in dying, deserveth not to obtain the least reflection; and who believe that a certain number of Witnesses, whom the sole fear of Fire hath induced to accuse very innocent Persons, will be a reason strong enough to defend them from the just vengeance of God. If, I say, so many Christians passing for *Jews* are unjustly delivered up to Execution in all the Inquisitions, there are no less, nor fewer acts of Injustice performed in the *Indies*, against those who are accused of Magick and Sorcery, and as such condemned to the Fire: For to illustrate this, we are to observe that the Gentiles, who in Paganism observed a very great number of ridiculous Superstitions; to know, for example, the success of an Affair, or of a disease, whether one is loved by a certain Person, who stole away any thing which is lost, and for other reasons of this nature: that these Gentiles, I say, cannot so well, nor so readily forget all these things, but that they put them often in practice after they are Baptized; which will be thought less strange if we consider that in *France*, where the Christian Religion hath been established for so many Ages, there may be yet found so many Persons who give belief to, and use these impertinent Ceremonies, which so long a time hath not caused to be forgotten. Farther, that those Gentiles newly Converted to the Faith, have passed the greater part of their Life in Paganism, and that those who live in the States of the King of *Portugal* in the *Indies*, are Subjects or Slaves, who ordinarily change not their Religion, but in hope
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of being better treated by their Lords and Masters ; nevertheless these sort of Faults which in gross and ignorant Persons, would methink deserve rather the Whip than the Fire, cease not to be expiated by this cruel punishment in all those who are convicted, according to the maxims of this Tribunal the second time, if they confessed the first time ; or the first time, if they persisted to deny the Fact. And the Inquisition punisheth not only Christians, who fall, or who are accused to have fallen into the cases, whereof it hath right to judge, but also Mahometans, Gentiles, and other Strangers of whatsoever Religion they be, who have committed any of these Crimes, or who have performed any exercise of their Religion in the Countreys subject to the King of *Portugal*. For altho the Prince granteth Liberty of Conscience, the Holy Office having the Interpretation of this Commission, consenteth indeed that Strangers should live in their Religion, but punisheth those as guilty who perform any exercise of it. And as in the Lands of the *Portuguese* Dominion in the *Indies*, there are many more Mahometans and Gentiles than Christians, and that the Inquisition which punisheth the relapsed Christians with death, never inflicteth Capital Punishment upon those who never received Baptism, altho they should relapse an hundred times into the same Fault ; and that at the most they are quitted for Banishment, the Whip, or the Gallies ; this fear of living condemned to the Fire hinders many from embracing Christianity. And the Holy Office far from being useful in these Countreys to the Propagation of the Faith, serveth for nothing else but to drive People from the Church, and create in them an abhorrence of it.

The perpetual Succession of Accusations, which necessarily follow, all which I have hitherto related, and the liberty which every one taketh, of freely accusing those who are his Enemies, causeth that the Prison of the Inquisition are never long time empty, and tho the Acts of Faith are made at the latest from two to two, or from three to three years, there fail not nevertheless to appear in every one about two hundred Prisoners, and sometimes more.

C H A P. XVII.

Some particulars concerning the Officers of the Inquisition.

IN all the Countries of the *Portuguese* Dominions, there are four Inquisitions, to wit, in *Portugal* those of *Lisbon*, *Coimbra*, and *Devo-*

ra, and in the *East Indies* that of *Goa*. These Tribunals are all Supreme, and judge without Appeal all those matters which happen within the extent of their bounds. That of *Goa* extendeth its Jurisdiction over all the Countrys possessed by the King of *Portugal*, beyond the *Cape of Good Hope*. Beside these four Tribunals, there is also the great Council of the *Inquisition*, wherein presideth the Inquisitor General; this Tribunal is the chief of all others, and is informed of all which is done by the others. Beside the Honour, the excessive Authority, and the Pensions annexed to the Charges of all the Inquisitors, they draw thence also a considerable profit two ways. The first, then when they cause the effects of the Prisoners to be publickly sold; by which means, if there be found any thing rare and precious, they need only send some of their Domesticks to cheapen it; and it is certain that no body will dare to be so bold as to bid above him: Whence it happens often that things are adjudged to him at half of their just value.

The second mean, by which they may yet more considerably gain, is, that the price of the confiscated Goods being brought into the Royal Exchequer, they have power to send orders when they will, and for what summs they please, to supply the expences and secret necessities of the *Holy Office*; which is paid to them ready down, without that any person dare enquire wherein these secret necessities consist, inasmuch as almost all which comes from these confiscations return to them one way or other.

All the Inquisitors are named by the King, and confirmed by the Pope, from whom they receive their Bulls. There is no man at *Goa*, but the Grand Inquisitor, who hath or claimeth the right of being carried in a Chair. Much greater respect is given to him than either to the Arch-bishop or Vice-Roy; and the Governours when the Vice-roy is dead. His Authority extends over all sorts of persons, Laick and Ecclesiastick, except the Arch-bishop, his Grand Vicar, who is always a Bishop; the Vice-roy, and the Governours, when the Vice-roy is dead; although he can cause even them to be arrested, after he hath given advice of his intention to the Court of *Portugal*, and hath received secret Orders of the supreme Council of the *Inquisition* at *Lisbon*, called *Cousselho Supremo*. This Tribunal assembleth not but from fifteen to fifteen days, unless somewhat extraordinary intervenes, which may oblige them to meet more frequently; whereas the ordinary Councils are regularly assembled twice a day, in the morning from eight of the Clock to eleven, and in the afternoon from two to four, and sometimes later; especially when the times of the *Acts of Faith* draw near, for then the Audiences are oftentimes prolonged till ten at night.

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When they judge Causes, besides the Deputies which assist, the Arch-Bishops or Bishops of the places where the Inquisition is established, have a right to be present at the Tribunal, and to preside therein all the judgments which are made. But it is time to return to what particularly relates to my self.

C H A P. XVIII.

In what manner I was led the first time to Audience, and what they said to me.

They had given me notice when I was first shut up in the Prisons of the Holy Office, that whensoever I should have need of any thing, I need only knock softly at the door to call the Guards, or desire it of them at the hours of meals; and that when I would go to Audience, I must address my self to the *Alcaide*, who, as well as the Guards, never spake to the Prisoners without a witness. They had also given to me hopes, as I before said, that my Liberty should immediately follow my Confession. For this reason I ceased not to importune the Officers that I might be carried before my Judges: But with all these tears and entreaties, I could not obtain this favour till the last of *January* 1674.

The *Alcaide* accompanied with one of the Guards, came to me upon this account, at two of the Clock in the Afternoon. I habited my self according to his Directions, and went out of my Cell, my Head, Leggs, and Feet being naked. The *Alcaide* went before me and the Guard followed me. We marched in this order to the very door of the Chamber of Audience, where the *Alcaide* having advanced a little and made a profound reverence, stepped back to let me enter alone. I found there, as before, the Inquisitor and the Secretary. I fell down at first upon my knees; but having received order to arise and sit down, I seated my self upon a Bench which was at the end of the Table on the same side with my Judge. Near me upon the end of the Table laid a Missal; upon which before we proceeded any farther, they made me lay my hand and promise to keep secresie and speak the Truth: which two Oaths are exacted of all those who approach this Tribunal, whether it be for to depose or to receive any Order. They then asked me if I knew the cause of my imprisonment, and whether I were resolved to confess it. To which having answered that I desired nothing more, I recited exactly all which I before related in the beginning of this Narrative, touching Baptism, and Images, without saying any thing of what I had

I had advanced concerning the Inquisition, because I did not then remember it. My Judge having farther asked me whether I had nothing else to say, and being told that this was all which I remembred, far from restoring my Liberty to me, as I had hoped, finished this Audience with these very words.

That I had done very wisely in accusing my self so willingly, and that he exhorted me on the part of our Lord Jesus Christ, fully to confess the rest of my Accusations, to the end that I might make proof of the Goodness and Mercy which are used in this Tribunal, towards those who shew a true repentance of their Crimes, by a sincere and unforced confession.

My Confession and his Exhortation being finished and written down, they read it to me, and I signed it; after which the Inquisitor rung the Bell to call the *Alcaide*, who carried me out, and brought me back into my Chamber in the same order, in which I had gone.

C H A P. XIX.

My second and third Audience.

I Was carried the second time before my Judges without desiring it, the 15th of *February*, which made me believe that they had some design to free me: As soon as I came in they asked me anew, whether I had nothing more to say, and exhorted me to disguise nothing, but on the contrary sincerely to confess all my Faults. I answered, that how great care soever I had taken to examine my self, I could not call to mind any other thing than what I had already confessed. At last they asked me my Name, that of my Father, Mother, Brother, Grand-fathers and Grand-mothers, God-fathers and God-mothers; whether I were a *Christam de oito dias*, that is to say, a *Christian of eight days*, because in *Portugal* they baptize not Children till the eighth day after their Birth; as also Women in Child-bed go not out, nor go to Church, till forty days after their delivery, how happy soever that may have been. My Judge seemed to be surprized, when I told him that this Custom of deferring the Baptism of Children till the eighth day was not observed in *France*, where they Baptized them as soon as could be: and it sufficiently appears from the observance of these Legal Ceremonies, that notwithstanding the Aversion which the *Portuguese* testify against the *Jews*, they are nevertheless no very refined Christians. But this is not the greatest evil which resulteth from the observation of these Ceremonies. For first,

first, it happens but too often that Children dye without being regenerated by the holy Sacrament of Baptism, and are thereby deprived of Heaven for ever; and not to violate the Custom of Purification, which ought no longer to be continued after the publication of the Gospel, the *Portuguese Women* make no scruple to contemn the commands of the Church, which oblige all Christians to be present at *Sunday*, and on the Feasts of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, if they be not prevented by lawful impediments.

They also asked me the name of the Curate who had Baptized me ? in what Diocese ? what Town ? what Parish ? and lastly, whether I ever were Confirmed ? and by what Bishop ? Having satisfied all these Questions, they commanded me to kneel down, to make the sign of the Cross, to repeat the Lords Prayer, the *Ave-Mary*, the Creed, the Commandments of God, and of the Church, and the *Salve Regina* ; lastly, he finished as at the first time, by exhorting me through the Bowels of the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ to confess without delay ; which being read in my presence, and signed by me, I was remitted to my Chamber.

From the first moment that I had been in this Prison I had been always melancholly, and never ceased to shed tears ; but at my return from this second Audience, I entirely abandoned my self to all grief, seeing that they exacted of me the things which appeared impossible to me, since my memory suggested to me nothing of that which they desired I should confess. I endeavoured then to end my life by hunger, I received indeed the meat which they brought to me, because I could not refuse it, without exposing my self to receive bastinadoes from the Guards, who take great care to observe, when the Plates are returned to them, whether the Prisoners have eaten enough to sustain Nature : But my despair suggested to me means of eluding their diligence : I passed whole days without eating any thing, and that they might not perceive it, I cast into the Basin part of what they gave me. This course of diet was the cause that I was entirely deprived of sleep, and my whole employment consisted in mortifying my Body, and shedding tears. However, I omitted not in this time of my Affliction, to reflect upon the errors of my past life, and to acknowledge that it was by a just Judgment of God, that I had fallen into that depth of misery and unhappiness. I proceeded also so far as to believe that he intended perhaps to make use of this mean to call me to himself, and convert me. Having a little fortified my self by such meditations, I implored with my whole heart, the assistance of the Blessed Virgin, who is no less the consolation of the afflicted, than the Asylum and refuge of Sinners ; and from whom I have so visibly experienced protection, as well during my imprisonment, as

upon other occasions of my life, that I could not omit to render this publick testimony of it.

At last, after I had made a more exact, or a more happy examination of all which I had said or done, during my stay at *Daman*, I called to mind what I had advanced concerning the Inquisition, and its Integrity; I immediately desired audience, which yet was not granted to me till the sixteenth of *March* following. I doubted not, but in appearing before my Judge, to terminate all my affair; and that upon my confession, which I intended to make, they would immediately restore me to perfect Liberty, but then when I thought my hopes at the point of being compleated, I saw my self at once depriv'd of all these sweet hopes; because having confessed all which I had to say touching the Inquisition, they told me that this was not that which they expected of me; and I having nothing else to say, was immediately remitted, without so much as their vouchsafing to write down my Confession.

CHAP. XX.

How Despair induced me to attempt my life.

I Am now come to the most unhappy time of my Captivity; for how severe soever it had hitherto been, I had, at least, the comfort of having suffered with some patience, and even of having endeavoured to make a good use of my Sufferings; for the Faith obligeth us to believe that the greatest Evils are so many Advantages, to those who make good use of them I ought not therefore to look upon this as an unhappy time any more than that wherein I committed faults, which I cannot but consider as very great, and which I pretend not to justify, or even to excuse, by the cruelty of those who required of me impossible things, on pain of burning, since they carry not along with them so great extremity as may justify despair, which is the greatest and worst of all Evils.

I was once resolved not to speak of, in this place, the despair which seized me, nor the endeavours of destroying my own life, to which I was induced by it; but it was believed it would be important to give this account, since it cannot be denied that the unjust severities of the Inquisition give at least occasion to many to fall into the same condition: And that it concerneth the publick to make known not only the evil of the unjust actions considered in themselves, but also the horrible evils which

which are the too ordinary consequences of them. For if persons who have Learning and Education, who are instructed in their duties, and who never forsake the considerations of Faith fall into such extremities; what may not be feared from so many ignorant persons without Education, the greatest part of them new Converts from Paganism, where they have almost all their life looked on Despair as an Act of Generosity. I confess, that the ill success of my last audience, which I had believed would be so favourable for me, was an insupportable blow to me, and that thenceforth accounting Liberty to be an happiness to which I could no longer pretend; I abandoned my self so far to Melancholly and Despair, that I wanted but little of entirely losing my Reason:

I had not forgot that it is forbidden to a man to destroy himself, and I had no design to destroy my self eternally, but I desired to live no longer; and the extreme desire which I had to dye, troubled me so far, that I invented a mean, in the midst of my Despair, which might effectually procure my Death, and a natural Death, since I could not resolve to lay violent hands upon my self; and I imagined that God would pardon me if I procured it slowly, and by the means of others. I feigned then to be sick, and to have a Fever; they immediately brought to me a *Pandite*, or a Gentile Physician, who made no scruple to be convinced from the motion of my blood within my Pulse, which he took for a true Fever, and ordered me to be let blood, which was reiterated for 5 days together; and as my intention in using this Remedy was very different from that of my Physician, who laboured to recover my health, while I thought of nothing but ending this miserable and unhappy life. As soon as every one was retired, and my door was shut, I untied the Fillet, and suffered so much blood to run out as might fill a Cup containing at least 18 Ounces. I reiterated these cruel evacuations as often as I was blooded, and withal, eating almost no food, it is not hard to judge that I was reduced to extreme weakness.

The *Alcaide* who observed so considerable a change in my Body, could not sufficiently wonder at the ill condition wherein I was, which admitted scarce any hope of recovery. The *Pandite* was in the same astonishment, which obliged them to advertise the Inquisitor, who proposed to me to be confessed. As I did not believe my self to be in a condition of escaping death, I began to resent what I done, and being unwilling to destroy Soul and Body both together, I consented to receive a Confessor. They brought to me a good Religious of the Order of St. Francis, to whom having given an entire knowledge of my proceeding, I received much consolation from him: His good Advices made me take a resolution of contributing as much as I could to the recovery of my Health, I gave him leave to inform the Inquisitor secretly of all

all which had happened : And from that day which was Holy Friday, they gave to me, with all care, all things necessary for the speedy recovery of my strength, which I had lost with my Blood ; and for to sweeten my Melancholly a little, wherewith I was overwhelmed, they shut up with me another Negro Prisoner, who was accused of Magick, and who kept me company for five months. I enjoyed, during all this while, more command of my reason, and was less melancholly ; but as soon as they imagined me to be well recovered, they withdrew my Companion, and the loss of this comfort made me relapse into the same condition, to which I had been at first reduced.

C H A P. XXI.

New excesses to which my despair carried me.

I became more furious than ever by the absence of my Companion ; I beat my Breast and my Face with my Fist, and not contented with that, sought means to take away my Life, which I could not lose by my former attempt. I believed well that I should not succeed in Counterfeiting Sickness a second time ; and even if I should really be believed, if they opened me a Vein they would take all possible precaution to hinder me from losing my Blood a second time. This is the reason why being animated with my despair, I remembered that notwithstanding the diligent search which had been made upon me, when I was shut up, I had saved some pieces of Gold which had been sown in a Ribband tied about the Calf of my Leg, in form of a Garter. I took then one of those pieces which I broke in two, and sharpened one part so well, and so long against an Earthen Pot, that I gave it a point, and made it cut on both sides. This I made use of as a Launcet, with design to open the Arteries of my Arm. I took for this end all necessary precautions ; I thrust it into my Arm as far as was possible ; but notwithstanding all my cares I could not effect what I intended ; and instead of the Arteries I opened only the Veins that are above them.

Being resolved no longer to keep any measure, I contented not myself with drawing out my Blood by degrees. I let both my Arms bleed, till growing faint I laid myself down in my Blood, wherewith the Chamber was filled. And it is certain that if God by a particular mercy had not directed, that at that very time the Door should be opened to bring me somewhat necessary, in a time when it was not ordinary for the Guards to come, I had miserably lost both my Life and my Soul. I leave you
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to imagine the surprize of the Guards when they saw me in this condition. They immediately called the *Alcaide*, and all together came in, They bound up my Arms and used such Skill that I soon returned out of that swoon, wherein so considerable an evacuation of Blood had reduced me. They first carried this news to the Inquisitor, who ordered they should lead me to Audience, whethet I was carried at four a Clock.

Lying at length upon the Ground, my extreme weakness not permitting me either to stand or sit, the Inquisitor, after many reproaches, commanded them to carry me away, and put Manacles upon me to hinder me from pulling off the bands wherewith my Arms were bound up; this was immediately put in execution, and I had not only my hands chained, but also a Collar of Iron that was joyned to the Manacles, and was shut with a Padlock, insomuch as I could not any longer move my Arms.

But this proceeding served only to enrage me the more, I threw myself upon the ground; I ran my Head against the Walls and Pavement. If they had suffered me to continue never so little while in this condition, my Arms would infallibly have been unbound, and I could not have avoided death: But as they kept a strict eye upon me, they perceived, very well, by my actions, that severity was not seasonable, and that it were better to try ways of sweetness; they took off my Irons therefore, and endeavoured to comfort me with deceitful hopes. They changed my Chamber, and once more gave me a Companion, who had order to answer for me; nevertheless God who had always preserved me from so great an unhappiness, dissipated, by his Grace, the despair wherein I was plunged. More happy herein than many others, who often Murder themselves in the Prisons of the Holy Office, where these unhappy persons are debarred all sorts of humane comforts. My new Companion staid with me about two months, and as soon as they perceived me to be more peaceable he was taken away, although my weakness was then so great, that I could scarce rise from my Bed to receive my Meat at the door, which was set not above two paces from it. At last, after I had passed a year in this manner, by suffering much, I even contracted a habit of suffering; and God, after that, gave me patience enough not to make any more attempts upon my life.

C H A P. XXII.

My fourth Audience, in which the Promotor formeth against me Conclusions of suffering Death.

I had been now almost eighteen months in the Inquisition, when my Judges understanding that I was in a condition to answer, caused me to be brought the fourth time to Audience, where they asked me whether I were, at last, resolved to confess what they had so long expected from me, to which I answering, that I could remember nothing else than what I had already confessed; the Promotor of the Holy Office presented himself with a Libel, to signify to me the informations made against me.

In all my other examinations I had been accused, and they had contented themselves to hear my deposition without entering into any discourse with me; and were immediately wont to send me back as soon as I had ended the accusation of my self, but in this fourth examination I was accused, and time was given me to defend my self; and they read to me in the Informations made against me, the things whereof I had accused my self. The Facts were three, I had acknowledged them of my own proper motion. There was then nothing to oppose concerning the Facts themselves, but I thought it my duty to demonstrate to my Judges, that they were not so Criminal as they imagined; I said then upon the account of what I had disputed concerning Baptism, my intention was not in the least to oppose the Doctrine of the Church: But that the passage, *Unless a man be born again of Water and of the Holy Ghost, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven (John 3. 5.)* appearing to me very express, I had desired the explication of it. The Grand Inquisitor seemed surprized at this Passage, which all the World knows by heart; and I was no less surprized at his surprize. He asked me where I had that Passage? from the Gospel of St. John, said I, the third Chapter, and the fifth Verse. He caused a new Testament to be brought, looked for the Passage, but explained it not to me; it had been, nevertheless, easie to tell me that Tradition explained it sufficiently, since they always accounted to be Baptized, not only those who had suffered Death for our Lord Jesus Christ, without receiving the ordinary Ceremonies of Baptism, but also those who had been surprized by Death in the desire of being Baptized, and in Repentance of their sins.

Concerning the adoration of Images, I told him that I had advanced nothing which I had not taken from the Holy Council of *Trent*, and cited to him the passage of the 25th Session, concerning the *Invocation of Saints, and Holy Images*. *The Images of Christ, of the Mother of God, and of other Saints, are to be retained; and due Honour and Reverence is to be paid to them, so that through their Images to which we fall down prostrate, we may adore Christ, and venerate the Saints, whose likeness they bear.* My Judge seemed much more surprized at this than at the former Citation, and having searched it in the Council of *Trent*, he shut the Book without explaining the Passage to me.

Imagines Christi, Deipara Virginis & aliorum Sanctorum retinendas, usque; debitum honorem & venerationem impertiendam, ita ut per imagines eorum quibus procumbimus, Christum adoremus, & Sanctos quorum illae similitudinem gerunt, veneremur. *Seff.* 25.

There is somewhat incomprehensible in this degree of Ignorance, in the persons who undertake to judge others in Matters of Faith; and I confess that I should have hardly believed these Facts my self although I saw them, and very well remember them, if I had not learnt by the printed Relations of Mr. *Tavernier*, that how reserved soever Father *Ephraim de Nevers* were, upon what respecteth the Inquisition, which had made him suffer so much, he could not forbear to say, that nothing had been more unsupportable to him than the ignorance of its Ministers.

The Promotor in reading the Information, had said, that besides all this which I had acknowledged, I was moreover accused, and sufficiently convicted of having spoken with contempt of the Inquisition, and its Ministers, and of having held disrespectful discourses concerning the Pope, and against his Authority; and concluded, that the obstinacy which I had hitherto manifested in contemning so many delays and charitable admonitions, which had been given to me, was a convincing proof that I had very pernicious designs, and that my intention was to teach and foment *Heresie*; that consequently, I had incurred the punishment of greater Excommunication, that my Goods ought to be confiscated to the Kings Exchequer, and my self be delivered to the Secular Power, to be punished for my Crimes according to the Laws, that is, for to be burnt.

I leave the Reader here to imagine what effect these cruel conclusions of the Promotor of the Holy Office produced in my Soul. Yet I can assure you that how terrible soever these words were, the death wherewith I was then threatned, appeared to me much less formidable than the continuation of my Slavery; so that notwithstanding the trouble and grief which seized me, upon these conclusions pronounced against me, I failed not to answer to the new Accusations which were e-

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ven now signified to me, that in respect of my Intentions, they had never been bad, that I had always been a zealous Catholick, that all those with whom I had conversed in the *Indies*, could testify the same, particularly Father *Ambroise*, and Father *Tues*, both *French* Capuchins, who had diverse times heard me in Confession: And I understood after my departure, that Father *Tues* was actually at *Goa* at the same time when I alledged him as a Witness of my Innocence; that I had gone sixteen Leagues to satisfy the duties of *Easter*; that if I had nourished any Heresie in my Heart, it had been very easie for me to propagate it in those parts of the *Indies*, where any one may live and speak with perfect freedom, and that I would not then have chosen my Habitation in the Dominions of the King of *Portugal*; that I was so far from Dogmatically opposing Religion, that I had on the contrary entred diverse times into dispute with the Hereticks for to defend it; that indeed I remembered my self to have spoken with too much Liberty of that Tribunal, before which I then pleaded, and of the Persons which possessed it; but that I was surprized they should make that a Crime, which had been treated as a trifle, when I would have confessed it, almost a year and an half since; that for what concerned the Pope, I remembered not to have spoken of him in that manner which my Accusations insinuated; that nevertheless if they would tell me the particulars of it, I would sincerely confess the truth.

The Inquisitor taking me up, told me, that time should be given me, to consider of what respected the Pope, but that he could not sufficiently admire my Impudence, in that I pretended to have confessed what related to the Inquisition, when it was most certain that I had not opened my mouth about it, and that if I had made any Confession upon this Article, in that time when I pretended to have made it, I had not continued so long time in Prison. I remembered so perfectly what had been said, and what had been answered to me, and I was moreover so transported with anger to see my self so abused, that if they had not immediately commanded me to be taken away, as soon as I had signed my Deposition, I should not perhaps have contained my self from reproaching my Judge; and if I had enjoyed as much force and liberty as my Passion gave me Courage, it may be he should not have escaped with reproachful words.

C H A P. XXIII.

They carry me yet several times to Audience : Diverse Observations upon the Proceedings of the Inquisition.

I Was yet called to Audience three or four times in less than a Month; and they urged me to confess that whereof I had been accused concerning the Pope. They also signified to me a new proof, which the Promoter pretended he had drawn against me upon that subject, but which contained nothing different from what he had already urged against me; but what clearly demonstrates this Accusation to have been only a falsity invented on purpose to make me confess, is that they would not tell me the particulars of what they pretended I had spoken; but at last perceiving it impossible to draw any thing of that nature from me, they cease to mention it to me; and that this Article was not inserted in my Process, when it was publickly read in the *Act of Faith*. They endeavoured also in their last Audience to make me acknowledge that in the Facts whereof I had been accused, my intention was to defend Heresie; but to this I would never condescend, there being nothing more contrary to truth.

During the Months of *November* and *December*, I heard every morning the cries of those who were put upon the Rack; which is so cruel a torture, that I saw diverse Persons both of the one and the other Sex, who were distorted and maimed by it, and among others the first Companion they had assigned to me in the Prison. In this Holy Tribunal no respect is made of Quality, Age, or Sex, and all are indifferently submitted to the torture, when the Interest of the Inquisition so requireth it.

I remembred to have heard it said, before I entered into the Prisons of the Holy Office, that the *Auto dase*, or *Act of Faith* was ordinarily performed the first *Sunday in Advent*, because on that day is read in the Church that part of the Gospel, wherein mention is made of the last Judgment, and that the Inquisitors pretend, by this Ceremony, to make a Lively and Natural representation of it. I was moreover perswaded that there were then a great number of Prisoners in the Inquisition. The profound silence which is every where observed in this House, had given me Opportunity to count very near how many Doors were opened at the hours of repast. I had also obtained a pretty certain knowledge that there was arrived an Arch-Bishop at *Goa*, in the Month of *October*, after that See had been vacant near 30 years; because they

had extraordinarily rung the Bells at the Cathedral for nine days together, which neither the universal Church, nor that of *Goa* in particular Celebrates any remarkable Festival; and because I knew this Prelate was expected even before my Imprisonment. All these Reasons made me hope that I should be set at liberty in the beginning of *December*, but when I saw the first and second *Sundays* of *Advent* passed, I doubted not but that either my Liberty or my Punishment were at least deferred for another intire year.

C H A P. XXIV.

How I perceived that the Auto dase was to be performed on the morrow, and what Habits were given to us to appear in this Ceremony.

AS I perswaded my self that the *Auto dase* was never performed but in the month of *December*, when I saw the whole month spent without observing any preparation to that terrible Ceremony, I determined to suffer yet one year longer; nevertheless when I expected it least, I found my self to be in the eve of my enlargement from that long Captivity, wherein I languished two years.

I observed that on *Saturday* the 11th of *January*, 1676, being about to give my Linnen after Dinner to the Officers to be washed, after the usual Custom, they would not receive it, but put me-off till the next day; I failed not to make a great many reflexions upon the cause of this extraordinary refusal; and not finding any which satisfied me, I concluded that the *Act of Faith* was probably to be performed the next day; but I confirmed my self much more in my Opinion, or rather I held it for most certain, when after I had heard it ring to *Vespers* at the Cathedral, it immediately rung to *Martins*; which was never before done while I was Prisoner, except upon the eve of *Corpus Christi* day, which is celebrated in the *Indies* upon the *Thursday*, which immediately follows *quasi modo Sunday*, because of the continual Rains which fall there at that time when it is celebrated in *Europe*.

They brought me my Supper, which I refused, and which contrary to their ordinary custom, they pressed me not very much to receive. As soon as the doors were shut upon me, I entirely abandoned my self to those melancholly thoughts which possessed me; and at last, after many tears and sighs, overwhelmed with sorrow and imaginations of death, I fell asleep, a little after Eleven a Clock at Night.

I had not been long asleep, when my sleep was interrupted on the sudden by the noise which the Guards made in opening my door. I was surprized to see persons enter into my Cell with light, being not before accustomed it, and the time of the night contributed to redouble my apprehension. The Alcaide gave me an habit, which he ordered me to put on, and to be ready to go out when he should come to call me, and so withdrew, leaving in my Chamber a Lamp burning.

I had not upon this occasion either strength to rise, or to make any answer to him ; and from the instant that these men quitted me, I was seized with an universal and so violent a trembling, that for more than an hour it was not possible for me so much as to look upon the habit which they had brought me. At last I arose, and prostrating my self upon the ground before a Cross which I painted upon the Wall, I recommended my self to God, and abandoned my fortune to his protection. Then I put on the habit, which consisted of a Vest whose sleeves came down to the wrist, and a pair of Drawers which reached to the very heels ; the whole made of black stuff, striped with white.

CHAP. XXV.

Of the Preparations to the Act of Faith, and the diverse Ornaments which are distributed to the Criminals, according to the diversity of their Crimes.

I Had not long time to wait after I had taken the habit which was left for me. These Gentlemen, who had come the first time a little before Midnight, returned at Two a Clock of the morning into my Chamber ; out of which they led me into a long Gallery, where I found a good number of my Companions in misery, ranged round about against the Wall ; I put my self into my place, and there came yet diverse after me.

Although there were near 200 men in this Gallery, as all observed a most profound silence, that in this great number there were not above 12 Europeans, who could hardly be distinguished among the others, and that all were as my self, cloathed with black stuff. One might have easily taken all these persons for so many Statues set against the Wall, if the motion of their eyes, the use of which alone was permitted to them, had not testified them to be living Creatures. The place wherein we were thus assembled was enlightned only by a little number of Lamps, whose light was so obscure, that this joyned to so many black, melancholy,

choly, and afflicted objects, seem'd to be no other than a preparation for the Celebration of some Funeral.

The Women who were Vested with the same stuff with us, were in the next Gallery, where we could not see them; but I observed that in a Dormitory a little remote from ours, there were also other Prisoners, and persons Vested in Black, and some in a long habit, who walked up and down. I knew not then what this meant, but I learned after a few hours, that those who were to be burned were there, and that the persons who walked about were their Confessors.

As I knew not then the formalities of the Holy Office, whatsoever desire I had in time past to dye, I then feared to be of the number of those who were destined to the Flames; yet I recovered courage in a little time, when I considered that I had nothing in my habit which distinguished me from others, and that there was no likelihood that so great a number of persons, who were apparelled like my self, should be put to death together.

After we were all ranged against the Walls of this Gallery, they gave to every one of us a Taper of yellow Wax: They then brought to us other Habits to put over the former, made like Declinaticks, or great Scapularies; they were of yellow stuff, with St. *Andrews* Crosses painted on them in red, before and behind. They are wont to give these sort of marks to those who have committed, or who are esteemed to have committed Crimes against the Faith of Jesus Christ, whether they be Jews, Mahometans, Sorcerers, or Hereticks, who were before Catholics; they call these *Grand Scapularies* with these Crosses of St. *Andrew Sambenito's*. Those who are accounted Convicted, and who persist to deny the Facts whereof they are accused, or who are relapsed, bear another kind of Scapulary, called *Samarra*, whose ground is grey; the Picture of the Prisoner is represented to the life upon it, both before and behind, placed upon burning Torches, with Flames rising up, and Devils round about; their Names and their Crimes are written at the bottom of the Picture, but those who accuse themselves after Sentence is pronounced upon them, and before they are carried out of their Chamber, being no relapsed persons, bear upon their *Samarra's* flames Inverted, which they call *fogo Revolto*, that is, fire Inverted.

Sambenito's were distributed to twenty of the *Blacks* who were accused of Magick, and to one *Portuguese*, attainted of the same Crime, who moreover was a *New Christian*.

As they would Revenge themselves upon me by halves, and that they were resolved to insult over me to the end, they forced me to put on a like Habit to that of the Sorcerers and Hereticks, although I had always made Profession of the Catholick, Apostolick, and *Roman* Faith, that

which my Judges might easily have known from an infinite number of Persons, as well Strangers, as of mine own Nation, with whom I had lived in divers parts of the *Indies*.

My fears redoubled when I saw my self thus habited, because it seemed to me that these being among so great a number of Prisoners, no more than two and twenty persons to whom these shameful *Sambenito's* were given, it might very well happen that these should be the persons to whom no mercy was to be extended.

After this distribution five Bonnets of Paper were brought in, rising up in a point like a Sugar Loaf, all covered with Devils and flames of fire, with a writing round about expressing this word, *feiticero*, that is, *Sorcerer*, they call these Bonnets *Carochas*; they set them upon the heads of so many persons the most guilty of all the rest among those as were accused of Magick, and as those persons stood very near me, I then believed they would not fail to present one to me also, which yet did not happen. I did then make no doubt almost but these miserable men were those persons designed to be burnt; and as themselves were no better instructed at that time in the formalities of the Holy Office, I was assured by them afterwards, that at that moment they believed their destruction to be Inevitable.

Every one being thus adorned according to the quality of his Crimes, we were permitted to sit down on the ground in expecting new orders; at four of the Clock of the morning the Servants of the House came following the Guards, for to distribute Bread and Figs to those who would accept them; but although I had not supped the night before, I found in my self so small an appetite for eating, that I had taken nothing, if one of the Guards coming near me had not said take your Bread, and if you cannot eat it now put it into your Pocket, for you will be certainly hungry before you return. The words of this man brought great comfort to me, and dissipated all my fears, by the hopes which he gave of my return, which obliged me to follow his advice.

At last, after we had waited a long while, the day appeared at five a Clock; and I might then observe upon the faces of every one present, the diverse motions of shame, of grief, and of fear, wherewith they were then tormented. For although they felt no small joy in seeing themselves upon the point of being delivered from so cruel and insupportable a Captivity, yet this joy was very much diminished, by the fear wherein every one was of what would become of himself.

C H A P. XXVI.

How we went in Procession to go to the Act of Faith. The Order of this Ceremony.

THE great Cell of the Cathedral Church was rung a little before the rising of the Sun, which was as the Signat to advertize the people to run together to see the August Ceremony of the *Auto dase*, or *Act of Faith*; and first, they made us go out one by one. I observed in passing from the Gallery into the great Hall, that the Inquisitor sat at the door, having a Secretary by him; that the Hall was filled with Inhabitants of *Goa*, whose names were written in a List, which he held in his hands; and that at the same time any Prisoner was brought forth, they called one of these Gentlemen who were in the Hall, who immediately came up to the Criminal for to accompany him, and serve him as a Godfather in the *Act of Faith*.

These Godfathers receive the persons in charge whom they accompany, are obliged to answer for them, and to produce them when the Festival is ended; and *Messieurs* the Inquisitors, pretend to do them great honour when they choose them for this Office. I had for Godfather the General of the *Portuguese* Ships in the *Indies*; I went out of the Hall with him, and as soon as I was in the Street, I saw that the Procession began by the Order of the *Dominicans*, who have this noble privilege, because St. *Dominick* their Founder, was also of the Inquisition. They were preceded by the Banner of the Holy Office, wherein the Image of the Founder is represented in very rich embroidery, holds a Sword in one hand, and in the other a branch of Olive, with this Inscription, *Justitia & Misericordia*. These Monks are followed by the Prisoners, who march one after the other, having every one his Godfather at his side, and a Taper in his hand. Those who are less guilty go first; and as I passed not for one of the more innocent, there were more than a hundred preceded me. I had, as all the rest, my head and feet naked, and I was very much troubled during all this March, which continued for an hour almost, because of the little flint stones wherewith the streets of *Goa* are scattered, which made my feet bleed abundantly. They made us walk through all the greater streets, and we were gazed on by an innumerable croud of people, who had run together from all parts of the *Indies*, and who lined all the streets through which we were to pass; for they took care to give notice to the Parish Priests in the Parishes of more remote places, a long time before the *Act of Faith* was performed.

formed. At last, covered with shame and confusion, and very weary of the march, we arrived at the Church of *St. Francis*, which for this time was destined and prepared for the *Act of Faith*. The great Altar was spread with black; and there were upon it six Silver Candlesticks, with so many Tapers of white Wax burning. There were raised on the sides of the Altar two kind of Thrones, the one on the right hand for *Monsieur* the Inquisitor and his Councillors, the other on the left for the Viceroy and his Court.

At some distance, and over against the great Altar, inclining a little towards the door, was placed another, whereon were laid two Missals open. From thence to the door of the Church was made a Gallery about three foot broad, with a Balister on each side, and both on one side, and the other were placed Benches for the Criminals and their Godfathers to sit on, who accordingly seated themselves in order as they entered into the Church, insomuch as those who came in first, sat very near the Altar.

As soon as I was entered and placed in my Rank, I applied my self to consider the order, which they made those observe who came after me. I saw that those, to whom those horrible Carochas of which I spake, were given, marched last in our whole Troop; that immediately after them a great Crucifix was carried, whose Face respected those who marched before; and which was followed by two living Persons, and four Statues of the height of a Man, represented very naturally, fixed every one to the end of a long Pole, and accompanied with so many little Chests, born each by a Man, and filled with the bones of those whom these Statues represented. The Face of the Crucifix turned toward those who went before it, signifieth the mercy which is used in respect of them, in delivering them from death, although they had justly deserved it: and the same Crucifix turning the back upon them that followed it, signifieth that those unfortunate Persons have no more favour to hope for. For so it is that all is mysterious in the Holy Office.

The Habits wherewith these miserable Persons were vested, were no less capable of striking horror and pity into the Beholders; as well the living Persons as Statues bore a Samarra of Grey Stuff, all painted over with Devils, Flames, and burning Fire-brands, upon which the Head of the Prisoner was represented to the life before and behind, with his Sentence written below, bearing an Abridgment, and in great Characters his Name, that of his Countrey, and the Crime for which he was condemned. Beside this terrible Habit they had also upon their Heads those dreadful Carochas, covered, as their Vestments, with Flames and Devils. The little Coffers, wherein were inclosed the Bones of those who were dead, and against whom Process had been made, either before

before or after their decease, during or before their Imprisonment, that so occasion might be given to the Confiscation of their Goods, were painted with black, and covered also with Devils and Flames.

It must be here observed that the Inquisition terminates not its Jurisdiction upon living Persons, or upon those who died in her Prison; but that she sometimes formeth a Process against Persons, who died many years before they were accused, then when after their decease they are charged with any great Crime, that in this case, if they be convinced, they are digged up, their Bones are burned at the *Act of Faith*, and all their Goods are Confiscated, whereof those are carefully despoiled who have inherited them: And I advance nothing which I have not seen practised; since among the Statues, which were seen when I came out of the Inquisition, there was one which represented a man dead a long time before, whose Process they had formed, whose Body they had digged up, and whose Goods were Confiscated, and his Bones burnt, or it may be those of some other who had been buried in the same place.

CHAP. XXVII.

Containing what was observed in the place wherein the Act of Faith was celebrated.

THESE unhappy Persons being entered in that dreadful Equipage, which I have already described, and being seated in their places, which were appointed for them near the door of the Church, the Inquisitor followed with his Officers, entered and went to place himself upon the Tribunal which was erected for him upon the right side of the Altar, while the Viceroy and his Court seated themselves upon the left. The Crucifix was placed upon the Altar between the six Candlesticks. Every one being thus settled in his Poste, and the Church filled with as many People as it could contain, the Provincial of the *Augustinians* ascended the Pulpit, and Preached for half an hour. Notwithstanding the anxiety of mind wherein I then was, I failed not to observe the comparison which he then made of the Inquisition, with the Ark of *Noah*, between which yet he found this difference, that the Animals which entered into the Ark, went out again after the Deluge, invested with the same Nature which they had when they entered in: But that the Inquisitor had the admirable property to change in such sort those who are shut up it, that in coming out we see those to be as Lambs, who when they

they entred in, had the cruelty of Wolves, and the fierceness of Lions. The Sermon being finished, two Readers went up one after another into the same Pulpit, to read there publicly the Proceſs of all the Criminals, and to ſignifie to them the puniſhments to which they were condemned. He whoſe Proceſs was read, was during that time led by the Alcaide into the middle of the Gallery, where he ſtood upright, holding a Taper lighted in his hand, till his ſentence was pronounced. And as it was ſuppoſed that all the Criminals had incurred the puniſhment of greater Excommunication, they led us to the foot of the Altar whereon laid the Miſſals; where being placed on our knees, they made us lay our hands upon one of theſe books, and remain in that poſture, till there was as many perſons as Miſſals. Then the Reader diſcontinued reading of the Proceſs, to pronounce with a loud voice a Confeſſion of Faith, after he had briefly exhorted the Criminals to repeat it with heart and mouth at the ſame time with him; which being done, every one returned to his place, and the reading of the Proceſs was began anew.

I was called in my order, and underſtood that all my affair ran upon theſe three heads. The firſt, for having maintained the invalidity of the Baptiſm, called *Flaminis*. The ſecond, for having ſaid that Images ought not to be adored, and having blaſphemed againſt the Image of the Crucifix, in ſaying of a Crucifix of Ivory, that it was a piece of Ivory. And laſtly, for having ſpoken contemptuouſly of the Inquiſition, and its Miniſters; but above all, for the ill intention which I had in ſpeaking all theſe things. For which Crimes I was declared Excommunicate; and for reparation thereof my Goods were conſiſcated to the Kings account, and my ſelf baniſhed from the *Indies*, and condemned to ſerve in the Gallies of *Portugal* five years; and moreover, to perform other Penances which ſhould be enjoined to me in particular by the Inquiſitors.

Of all theſe puniſhments, the moſt inſupportable to me, was to ſee my ſelf in an indiſpenſable neceſſity of quitting the *Indies*, where I had reſolved to Travel a yet much longer time. This ſorrow, nevertheless, was not ſo great, but that it was much allayed by the hope of ſeeing my ſelf ſhortly out of the hands of the *Holy Office*. My Confeſſion of Faith being made, I returned to my place, and received advantage from the advice which my Guard had given me of not reſuſing my Bread, for the Ceremony continuing all the day, there was no perſon who did not that day Dine in the Church.

C H A P. XXVIII.

They Absolve us from Excommunication, and deliver those to the Secular Power who were to be burned: What was observed upon this occasion.

AFTER they had ended to read the Process of all those to whom they extended their mercy in saving their lives, the Inquisitor left his seat to put on his *albe* and *sole*; and being accompanied with about 20 Priests, who had every one a Wand in his Hand, he came into the middle of the Church, where after he had made diverse Prayers, we were Absolved from the Excommunication, which they pretended we had incurred, by means of a blow which the Priest gave to every one of us upon his Habit. I cannot forbear to relate here a thing, which will shew to what degree the *Portuguese* Superstition proceeds in all things which have any relation to the Inquisition; which is, that during the Procession, and the whole time of our stay in the Church, he who served me as a Godfather would never answer to me, although I had spoken to him diverse times, and that he even refused to give a little Powder of Tobacco which I had desired of him; so much did he fear to be involved in the Censure wherewith he supposed me bound. But as soon as I was Absolved, he embraced me, gave me Tobacco, and told me that he then acknowledged me for his Brother, since the Church had Absolved me.

This Ceremony being ended, and the Inquisitor returned to his place, they brought out one after the other those unhappy Victims who were to be Sacrificed by the Holy Inquisition. There were a man, a Woman, and the representation of four dead men, with the little Chests wherein their Bones were inclosed. The Man and Woman were *Indian Blacks* and Christians, accused of Magick, and condemned as relapsed. Of the four Statues, two represented also two men, held for convicted of Magick, and the two others two men who had been new Christians, and were accused to have Judaized; of which the one had died in Prison, the other in his own House, and had been buried long since in his Parish; but being accused of Judaism after his Death, as he had left very considerable Riches, they took care to pluck him out of his Grave, and take away his Bones to burn them at the *Act of Faith*, after they had formed a Process against him. We may see hereby, that the Holy Office is not contented to attribute to it self the Infallibility of Jesus Christ, but that they would also, as well as he, exercise their authority upon the Living and the Dead.

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The several Processes of these unfortunate persons were read, which were all ended with these words, That the Inquisition could not shew any mercy to them because of their relapse and their impenitence, and that finding themselves indispensably obliged to punish them according to the rigour of the Laws, they delivered them to the Secular Arm and Justice, whom they earnestly desired to use Clemency and Mercy towards these miserable wretches; and that if they would impose upon them the punishment of Death, it might be at least without effusion of blood. At the last words of the Inquisitors, a Serjeant of the Secular Justice approached, and took possession of those infortunate persons; after they had received a light blow upon the breast from the hand of the Alcaide of the Holy Office, in token that they were abandoned by him. See the great kindness of the Inquisition to interceed thus for guilty persons! The extreme condescendance of the Magistrates, to choose rather in complaisance to the Inquisition, to content himself to burn these Criminals to the very marrow of their their Bones, than to use the power which he hath of shedding their blood.

Thus was ended, in respect of us, the famous ceremony of the *Auto dafé*, or *Act of Faith*; and while these miserable wretches were led along the bank of the River, where the Viceroy and his Court were assembled, and where the Piles, upon which they were to be Sacrificed, were prepared the day before, we were led back to the Inquisition by our God-fathers, without observing any order. Although I was not present at the Execution of these persons thus abandoned by the *Holy Office*, nevertheless as I was fully instructed by persons who have oftentimes seen the like Executions, I will here relate, in few words, the ceremony which were there observed.

As soon as the condemned persons are arrived at the place where the Secular Judges are assembled, they ask them in what Religion they will dye, without informing themselves, in the least, of their Processes, which they suppose to have been perfectly well managed, and the persons most justly condemned; since no doubt is to be made of the Infallibility of the Inquisition: as soon as they have answered to this one Question, the Executioner seizeth them, and tieth them to Posts upon the Pile, where they are first strangled if they dye Christians, and burnt alive if they persist in Judaism or Heresie; which happens so seldom, that scarce one example is to be seen in four *Acts of Faith*, although there are very few in which are not burned a good number of persons.

The day after the execution, the Images of those who are put to death are brought into the Churches of the *Dominicans*; their Head only is presented to the Life, placed upon kindled Fire-brands; at the bottom is put their name, that of their Father and their Country, the quality of their

their Crimes for which they were condemned, with the years, the month, and the day of the execution.

If the Person who was to be burnt had twice relapsed into the same Crime, they put these words at the bottom of the Portrait; *Morreo quimodo por hereſe relapſo*, which ſignifieth that he was burned for a relapsed Heretick. If having been accused but once, he persevereth in his error, they put, *Por hereſe contumaz*, for an obstinate Heretick; but as this case is very rare, so there are very few of these Portraits. Lastly, if having been thus accused but once by a sufficient number of Witnesses, he persisteth to profess himself innocent, and at the same time professeth Christianity to the very death, they put at the bottom of the Table, *Morreo quemado por hereſe convinto negativo*, which is to say, that he was burnt as a convicted Heretick, but who confessed not. And of this last kind a great number of Portraits may be seen. We may hold it for certain that of an hundred Negatives, there are at least 99 who are not only innocent of the Crimes which they deny, but who have beside that innocence, the merit of chusing rather to die, than to tell a lye in confessing themselves guilty of a Crime, of which they are really innocent. For it is not possible that a man assured to save his Life, if he confesseth, would persist to deny, and chuse rather to be burnt than acknowledge a truth, the confession of which will save his Life. These terrible representations are placed in the Nave of the Church, and over the highest door of the Church, as so many illustrious Trophies consecrated to the Glory of the Holy Office; and when this part of the Church is all over hung, they place them in the side Isles near the door. Those who have been at *Lisbon*, and have seen the great Church of the *Dominicans*, which is not far from the Holy House of the Inquisition, may have observed many hundreds of these sad Pictures.

C. H. A. P. XXIX.

My last enlargement from the Inquisition. They bring us into a House in the Town, to cause us to be there some time instructed.

I Was so weary and so sore at my return from the *Act of Faith*, that I had almost no less desire to re-enter into my Lodging to rest myself, than I had some days before to go out of it. My Godfather accompanied me into the Hall; and the Alcaide having conducted me into the Gallery, I went and shut up my self, while they brought in the rest. I first cast my self upon my Bed expecting Supper, which was nothing else

else but Bread and Figs, the trouble of the day having hindred them from preparing any thing in the Kitchen. I slept much better this night, than I had done of a long time, but when the day appeared, I expected impatiently what they would do with me; when the Alcaide came at six a clock to demand the Habit which I had wore at the Procession, of me, I would have given him the *Samuelito*, but he would not receive it, because I was to be vested with it on all Festivals and *Sundays*, till I had intirely performed my Sentence. At seven a clock they brought my Breakfast, and a little after I was warned to pack up all my Goods, and be ready to go when called. I obeyed this order with all possible diligence; and at nine a clock a guard having opened my door, I laid my bundle upon my Shoulders, and followed them into the great Hall, where the greatest part of the Prisoners were already. After I had been there some time, I saw about twenty enter, who had been the day before condemned to be whipped, and who then received it from the hand of the Hangman through all the Streets of the Town. Being thus all assembled, the Inquisitor appeared, before whom we fell upon our knees to receive his blessing, after we had kissed the ground near his Feet. Then they commanded the Blacks, who had little or no Luggage, to take up and carry that of the Whites. Those among the Prisoners who were not Christians, were sent immediately to the places appointed by their Sentence, some into Banishment, others to the Gallies, or into the house where they make Powder, called *Casa da polvera*; and those who were Christians, as well Whites as Blacks, were led into a House which was hired on purpose in the Town, to be there instructed for some time.

The Halls and the Galleries of the Lodgings were appointed for the Blacks to lye in, and we Whites were put into a separate Chamber, where they shut us up at night, leaving us in the day time the liberty of walking about the House, and speaking with those who were there, or who came from other places to see us. Every day two Catechisings were held, one for the Blacks, and the other for the Whites. Mass was celebrated every day, at which we were all present, as well at morning as at evening.

While I stayed in this House I was visited by a *Dominican* Frier, one of my Friends, whom I had known at *Daman*, where he had been Prior of his Order. This good Father loaded with diseases and years, no sooner knew that I was enlarged, but he put himself into a Pelanquin to come and see me; he wept at my disaster, and embraced me tenderly, assuring me he had been in great fears for my sake, that he had often inquired concerning my health and my affairs, of Father Procratour of the Prisoners, who was his friend, and of the same Order with himself; that

that nevertheless for a long while he could obtain no answer from him ; and that at last, after many solicitations, he could draw no more from him than this, That I was still alive. I received great comfort from the sight of this good Monk, and the necessity which was imposed on me of quitting the *Indies*, created equal sorrow to us both ; he had farther the goodness to visit me several times, invited me to return to the *Indies* as soon as I should be at liberty, and sent me diverse Provisions for the Voyage I was to make, which the condition and necessity wherein I then was, permitted me not to hope for from other hands.

CHAP. XXX.

They bring me again to the Inquisition, to receive the Penances which were imposed on me.

AFTER we had stayed in this House till the 23 of January, we were conducted once more into the Hall of the Inquisition, and from thence called every one in his turn to the Table of the Holy Office, to receive there from the hands of the Inquisitor, a Paper containing the Penances to which it had pleased him to condemn us : I went in my order, and was made to kneel down, after I had before laid my hands on the Gospel, and promised in this posture, to keep inviolable secrecy of all things which had happened, and which I had seen and observed during my imprisonment.

I received after that, from the hand of my Judge, a Writing signed by himself, containing the things which were to be performed by me ; and as this Memoire is not very long, I thought it convenient to put it here word for word for word in French, as it was in Portuguese.

A List of the Penances which N. N. ought to perform.

I. For the Three next years he shall confess himself, and communicate ; the first year every month, and the two following years on the Feasts of Easter, Whitsunday, and the Assumption of our Lady.

II. He shall hear Mass and Sermon upon Sundays and Holidays, if he hath convenience.

III. He shall repeat during the said three years, five times every day the Pater Noster and Ave Maria, in honour of the five wounds of our Lord Jesus Christ.

IV. He shall never enter into friendship, nor have any particular commerce with Hereticks, or persons whose Faith is suspected, who may prejudice his Salvation.

V. And

V. And lastly, He shall keep exactly the secret of all which he hath seen, heard, or said, or which hath been acted concerning him, either at the Table, or at any places of the Holy Office.

Signed

Francisco Delgado ematos.

Having received this Writing I kissed the ground, and returned into the Hall, to wait there till the like Writing should be given to all the rest: In going out they separated us, and I know not what became of the greatest part of our company, or whither they were sent. We remained together not above twelve, who were led into the *al Fowar*, which is that Prison of the Office, wherein I was put the first day that I came to *Goa*, before I entred into the Inquisition. I stay'd there till the 25th, when an Officer of the Holy Office clapping Irons upon my feet, carried me into a Ship which was in the Road, ready to set sail for *Portugal*.

C H A P. XXXI.

Containing some Observations upon all that hath been hitherto said:

BEFORE I continue the account of my adventures, I believe it will not be unreasonable to make some reflexions upon all which hath been said. I will begin then by the consideration of the principal Acts of Injustice committed in the Inquisition: of which the first is the Treason of the Commissary of *Daman*; who, after I had confessed to him what I had said, and what relateth to the Holy Office, gave me so insincere advice, that he ceased not to arrest me to satisfy the passion of the Governour, although the Inquisition is not wont to apprehend those who voluntarily accuse themselves, before they are put in Prison. I am not ignorant of what this Father said to defend himself from this imputation, that I had not accused my self in due form; but any one may easily perceive that this is a new trick, for he ought to have taught me the form: I was young, and a stranger, and should immediately have satisfied him, but it was necessary for him to make use of this miserable pretext to satisfy the Governour.

The second thing of which I think my self to have reason to complain, in respect of the same Commissary, is that he maliciously kept me at *Daman* till the month of *January*; instead of which, if he had sent me to *Goa*, immediately after my imprisonment, my case might have been examined and ended before the end of *November*; and I should have been

been enlarged at the *Act of Faith*, which was performed that very year in the beginning of *December*; whereas not sending me to *Goa*, till the *Act of Faith* was ended, I was forced to stay in the Prisons of the Holy Office two years longer than I should have done; because scarce any enlargement of the Prisoners is ever made, but at that terrible Ceremony called the *Act of Faith*; and as that is performed but from two to two, or from three to three years, it is a double unhappiness for those that are shut up in these *Holy Prisons*, to be carried thither immediately after this Goal-delivery, because they are obliged to wait there till there be a sufficient number of Persons to render the *Act of Faith* more illustrious.

The refusal which the Inquisitor made at my third Audience to receive my confession, touching what I had said concerning the Inquisition, and his injustice, in daring to maintain that I had not confessed this Fact, which he made my Crime so long time after, was one of those things which most afflicted me, during my Imprisonment, and is none of the least grievances which I have to complain of against these Messieurs.

I might also justly complain of this, that the Inquisition desiring to lay a new snare for me, when I accused my self of what I had said concerning the Holy Office, and what had happened a long time before to Father *Ephraim Nevers*; asked me if I would defend the errors of that Monk; but although I knew very well, that the innocence of this Father had been fully manifested, and that he had been arrested merely upon Envy; I answered that I pretended not to defend any person, being sufficiently troubled to defend my self.

I had moreover methinks all reason to believe, that they had an intention to please the Vice-roy, and Governour of *Daman* his Cousin, in sending me into *Portugal*, since of more than 200 Persons who went with me out of the Inquisition, I alone was obliged to leave the *Indies* and go for *Europe*.

The cruelty of the Guards, who often used very rude words to me, and forced me unwillingly to eat my Meat, and take remedies when I was sick, deserves also in my mind some consideration; for although the Guards have reason to force the accused Persons to eat their meat and take remedies; they might use in respect of them the same method which is used in respect of other sick Persons, who are not wont to receive the Stirrup Leather, or Bastinadoes to make them take the Prescriptions of their Physicians.

I will add, that although the Inquisition granteth something of safe Conducts to those, who being in a place of Security will come and accuse themselves; yet it is best not to trust them too much, since they make no great scruple in this Holy Tribunal, to violate the promise
which

which they have made, and when they have a mind to it they will find pretexts enough not to keep it, which I will prove by an example.

I knew at *Surat* a Religious Person of the Order of *St. Dominick*, called *Father Hyacinthe*, who for many years had quitted his Convent and his Habit, living in a very dissolute and scandalous manner. It happened afterwards that a Woman with whom he had lived a long time, and by whom he had diverse Children, dyed; this loss touched him, and produced in him a resolution of changing his Life. He resolved then to return into his Convent at *Bacaim*, but because all the *Portugueze*, and above all, the Priests and Religious persons, who have passed any considerable time among the Infidels, are obliged in returning into the *Portugueze* Dominions, to present themselves to the Inquisition, and make there an exact declaration of the manner of their past life, if they would prevent their being compelled to it by force. This Religious, whose conscience perhaps was touched with something relating to the Holy Office, before he left *Surat*, wrote to the Inquisitor at *Goa* for a safe conduct, that so he might come to present and accuse himself, which was granted him; with this poor assurance he departed and came to *Bacaim*, where he was not suffered to resume the Religious Habit, without having first cleared himself before the Inquisitors, upon which he went to *Goa*, presented himself at the Table of the Holy Office, whither he was several times called, and at last having been sufficiently examined, he was absolved and sent back to the Vicar General of his Order, who restored him the Habit, and again authoriz'd him to discharge the Functions of a Preacher and Confessor. He thinking all was over, prepared for his departure to *Bacaim*, where was his first Convent, when being just ready to embark in a Galliot, he was hurried away to the Prisons of the Holy Office, whose Ministers had not so easily granted him Absolution, were it not the easier to perform their design, that it might not be said they had violated their word, and the safe conduct they had given him; at the same time they spread about a report, that since his Absolution, discovery had been made of Crimes of which he had not accused himself.

This Religious who was clapped up a few days after me, remained there after I got out, as appears by his not being mentioned in the *Act of Faith*, and his Process not being read, which would certainly have been done, had he died in Prison, so that in all probability he must continue there till the next *Act of Faith*; I had this relation from a Religious Person of the same Order, who visited me after my delivery. And this example ought to teach those who travel, or live in those Countrys where the Inquisition is Established, not only to be circumspect in their words and actions, but also never to rely too much on assurances, or

safe conducts, granted them by the Inquisitors, or their Commissaries, how little soever occasion of mistrust they may seem to have.

CHAP. XXXII.

History of Joseph Pereira de Montes.

AS Nothing instructeth better than examples, I will here succinctly relate what happened to one of the most considerable Gentlemen of Goa, named *Joseph Pereira de Montes*; who having been Captain General of the Naval Armies of the King of *Portugal*, was commanded by the Governour of the *Indies*, (the Office of Vice-roy being then vacant) to go with his Ships to the relief of the Town of *Diu*, then besieged by the *Arabians*. He departed, and arriving at *Bacaim*, was constrained to stay there a longer time than he had intended, because the winds were contrary; insomuch as the *Arabians* came down to *Diu*, sacked it, and returned laden with pillage, before the arrival of the relief. The General, who was come too late, having given his Orders returned to Goa; where he was scarce arrived, but the Governour, who was then *Antonio de Mello de Castro*, a sworn enemy of *Joseph Pereira*, caused him to be apprehended; formed his Process; and because neither the Governour, nor even the Viceroy, have power to put Gentlemen to death, without receiving an express Order from the Court of *Portugal*, *Antonio de Mello* not being able to take away the life of his Enemy, pronounced against him a sentence, the Execution of which was more cruel than death it self, condemning him to be led through the great Streets of the City by the hand of the Hangman, with an Halter about his Neck, a Quonoville at his side, and an Herald walking before, and Proclaiming, that this Justice was performed by order of the King, on the person of this Criminal, attainted and convicted of Cowardice and Treason.

This cruel Sentence was Executed, notwithstanding the solicitations of the friends of the Prisoner; who after he was led about in this infamous posture, was carried back into Prison, whether he was scarce returned, when a *Familiar of the Holy Office* came to apprehend him, and carry him to the Inquisition.

This new accident surprized the whole City, as knowing that *Pereira* could not be accused of Judaism, being no *New Christian*, and that he had always lived in good esteem; they expected therefore with impatience the next *Act of Faith*, to see the end of this business. But this Ceremony being performed after a year, he was not seen to appear, nor was his Process

Process heard to be read, which increased the astonishment of all. We are to know, that *Joseph Pereira* had a long time since had a quarrel with a Gentleman of his acquaintance, with whom he had been afterwards reconciled. This false friend who had not lost his design of revenging himself, suborned with money 5 Domestick Servants of *Pereira*, to accuse him to the Inquisition as guilty of Sodomy, and produced these 5 Witnesses, who deposed they had seen him commit this Crime with one of his Pages; whereupon the two accused persons were apprehended. The Page who had less constancy than his Master, whom he knew to be as well as himself in the Prisons of *the Holy Office*, and not doubting but that he was accused of the same Crime, whereof the Promotor pretended himself to be guilty, terrified by the threats of the Inquisitors, and fearing to be burnt, as he would in truth have been, if he had persisted to deny the fact, and seeing no other means to save his life, but in confessing himself guilty, accused himself of a crime which he never committed, and so became a seventh Witness against his Master, the Informer being accounted one, according to the Maxims of the Inquisition. His confession saved his life, and being freed at the first *Act of Faith*, he was condemned to be banished to *Mozambique*.

Nevertheless as *Pereira* persisted to maintain his innocence, they condemned him to the fire; and he had been carried to be burnt at the same *Act of Faith* wherein his Page appeared, if the continual protestations which he made of his innocence, had not induced his Judges to defer the Execution of his Sentence, to try whether in time they could oblige him to confess; or if they could not obtain more light in his case, they then reserved him to another *Act of Faith*, which was performed a year after, the Prisons being then sooner than ordinarily filled. During this year, the accuser and his Witnesses were examined diverse times, and one of the Judges resolving to examine the Witnesses separately, whether that night wherein they pretended to have seen their Master commit this detestable Crime, the Moon shone or not; the Witnesses agreeing not in the Answer which they made to this Question, were put to the Rack, where they disowned all which they had testified against their Master. His innocence being thus clearly manifested, the accusers were apprehended; *Pereira* came out innocent at the first *Act of Faith*, and the Witnesses two years after, at the same time with my self; when the first were condemned to the Gallies for 5 years, and that Gentleman banished for 9 years into the Coasts of *Africa*.

It is easie to judge that the confronting of Witnesses might have freed the Inquisitors from this trouble, and the accused person from the danger of being sacrificed by the hands of the Holy Office, to the fury and malice of his Enemy; who in my opinion ought, together with his Com-
plices,

plices, to have been punished with the same kind of death, which they intended to have inflicted on an innocent Person. And we cannot doubt, but that this clemency of the Holy Office, exercised so openly towards such gross offenders, often gives encouragement to the like Attempts.

C H A P. XXXIII.

Of what happened to some other Persons, who together with me were enlarged at the Act of Faith.

TWO young Gentlemen married about *Bacaim*, who served the King of *Portugal* in his Navy, took care of a young *Portuguese* Souldier, who waited on them. These *Messieurs* being at *Goa* at the end of the Campaign, and desiring to go and pass at their Houses the Rainy season, which is called *Winter* in the *Indies*, left this young Souldier at *Goa*, where he pretended to have some business, and therefore would follow them some days after. This young Man immediately after the departure of these Gentlemen married in *Goa*, from whence he departed two days after his Marriage, and arrived at *Bacaim* four days after his Masters, to whom he gave no account of what he had done in their absence. A little while after a Match being offered to him, which seemed advantageous to him, he resolved to make use of the occasion in marrying himself a second time. To this end his Masters were desired to certify to the Curate that he was a single Person, which they did, not knowing that he was already married. Not long after this second marriage he had a desire to see his first Wife at *Goa*; whither the Brother of the second Wife being resolved to follow him, he found out his first Marriage, and accused him to the Inquisition, who caused him to be apprehended, and knowing who they were that had certified him to be a single man, sent order to the Commissary of *Bacaim* to seize them. So these two Gentlemen, more unhappy than guilty, were sent to *Goa* with Irons on their Feet, and shut up in the prison of the Holy Office. Having remained there 18 Months, they were at last produced in the *Act of Faith*, and were condemned to a triennial Banishment into the Coasts of *Africk*; and he who had been married twice, was banished into the same quarter for seven years, after which he was to return to and live with his first Wife.

One of these Gentleman was of the race of New Christians; and as these unhappy persons are always suspected to be bad Christians, the Inquisitors examined him at the Audience, to know if he were not a Jew;

Jew; and if he had not had some knowledge of the Law of *Moses*.? This poor Man stupified with these questions, and fearing that the unhappiness of his Birth would draw upon him, in this occasion, some misfortune; and besides not very well instructed in the Christian Religion, imagining himself to say one of the finest things in the World, and most proper to justify himself, blasphemed against *Moses*, and said that he had nothing to do with him, and that he knew him not; which his Judges laughed at very pleasantly.

Among those who were enlarged at the *Act of Faith*, I observed one who had a Gag in his Mouth, fastened to his Ears with Packthread. I learned from the reading of his Process, that this punishment was inflicted on him for having used diverse Blasphemies in play. This Blaphemer, besides the shame of appearing in this Equipage, was moreover condemned to a banishment of five years.

C H A P. XXXIV.

My departure from Goa, my arrival first at Brasil, and then at Lisbon.

I Was led with Irons on my Feet into a Ship, which was then in the Road, ready to set sail for *Portugal*. They put me into the hands of the Master of the Ship, who was charged to deliver me to the Inquisition of *Lisbon*. And the Captain having received his last dispatches, we weighed Anchor the 27th of *January* 1676. and the same day my Irons was taken off. Our Voyage was prosperous as far as *Brasil*; where we arrived in *May*. As soon they had cast Anchor in the Bay of *All Saints*, the Master under whose Guard I was, caused me to land with him, and brought me to the Palace of the Governour, and from thence to the common Prison where he delivered me into the hands of the Jaylor.

I was detained in this Prison all the while the Ship stayed in the Haven; but by the favour of some Friends whom I gained in this Country, I obtained, during my stay, the liberty of going out of Prison in the day time, and being shut up only in the night. The Prison of this Town is the most proper of all those which I had hitherto seen, except those of the *Holy Office*. Beside the low Rooms, which are tolerably clean and light some, there are above Stairs diverse Rooms for Persons less guilty, more rich, or better recommended. There is also a Chappel wherein Mass is celebrated upon *Sundays* and Holidays. And there are in this Town so good a number of charitable Persons, that the Prisoners suffer

no want. We re-embarked in the beginning of *September* to go for *Lisbon*; but this last passage was not so favourable, as was that from the *Indies* to *Brazil*.

There happened to me an accident, during this Voyage, which deserveth to be here mentioned. Approaching one day to the *Holy Table*, to receive the adorable Body of Jesus Christ, he from whose hands I received it, who was a *Cordelier* of the observant Friars, observed that I shut my Eyes, while he pronounced those words, *Domine non sub dignus*; and although I had no other intention in this action, than of humbling my self in the presence of my God, this good Father, who had already entertained a bad opinion of me, because I had been in the Inquisition, so ill interpreted this mark of my Devotion, that he could not forbear from reproaching me many days after, and telling me that he had no reason to doubt but that I was still an Heretick, since I vouchsafed not so much as to look upon our Lord, when he was presented to me in the Communion. I leave you to think whether the Judgment which this Religious Person made then of me, was not of the number of those which are called rash? However, I endeavoured to defend my self, and declare my intention to him; he always assured me, that after an action of that nature, he could not any longer retain a favourable opinion of me.

C H A P. XXXV.

They bring me to the Gallere. A description of that place.

AS soon as Anchor was cast in the Haven of *Lisbon*, the Master, under whose guard I then was, gave notice of my Arrival to the Inquisition, whether I was carried the next day, and from thence, by order of the Inquisitors, who vouchsafed not to see me, I was led to the Prison called the *Gallere*, which beareth this name, because there being no Gallies in *Portugal*; those whom the Holy Office, or Lay Judges condemn to that punishment, are sent thither. They clapt a Chain upon my Foot, to which was chained a *Portuguese*, who had escaped the Fire, by confessing the evening before he was to be burnt by order of the *Holy Office*.

In this *Gallere* all Criminals are chained two and two together by one Foot, only with a Chain about a foot long. The Prisoners have at their waste a hook of Iron, whereunto hang their Chain, and there remains yet about 3 foot of Chain between them. These couples are sent every day to labour at the Work-house where they build the Ships; they carry

Wood

Wood to the Carpenters, unload the Ships, pick out stones and sand for Ballast, carry Water and Victuals aboard for the Voyages, serve to make Ropes, and all other uses, wherein they can be employed for the service of the Prince, or of the Officers who command them, how vile and rude soever they be.

There are found among these Gally-slaves persons condemned by the Inquisition, others by the Lay Judges, fugitive and incorrigible slaves, whom their Masters put into this place to chastize them, and reduce them into order, *Turks* who have been taken Prisoners in the Pirate Ships of *Barbary*. All these persons, of whatsoever quality they be, are indifferently employed in vile and painful Labours; unless they have money to give to the Officers who conduct them, and who exercise an unheard of cruelty upon those who cannot mollify them somewhat from time to time.

This Land Gally is built upon the bank of the River, it hath two great Halls, the one above, the other below, both are filled, and the coupled Prisoners laid upon Couches with Matts; all their Heads and Beards are shaved once a month, they wear a Coat made close to their bodies, and Caps of blue Cloath. They also allow to them an Hood of course grey Serge, which serveth them as well for a Mantle in the day, as for a Coverlet in the night; and these are all the Garments which are given to them from six to six months, together with shifts of course Cloath.

They give to every one a pound and an half of very hard and black Biscate to eat every day, six pounds of salt flesh every month, with a dish full of Pease, Lentils, or Beans; this allowance they may order as they please. Those who receive any supply from elsewhere, sell this fare to buy somewhat better, according to their ability. No Wine is allowed to them, and those who drink it, buy it at their own cost; every day betimes in the morning, except on some very few Festivals, they are led to the Workhouse, which is a good half League from the Galley, where they labour without any intermission, on whatsoever they are employed till Eleven of Clock; they then cease working till One a Clock, and during this interval they may either eat or rest themselves; at One a Clock they return to their labour, continuing it till night, when they are sent back to the Gally.

There is in this Prison a Chappel, wherein Mass is said on *Sundays* and Festivals. There are at *Lisbon* charitable Clergymen, who come often to make Catechisms and Exhortations to the Galley-Slaves. Beside the Victuals which the Prince giveth them, they receive very often Alms, inasmuch as no want is there suffered; when there are any sick persons the Physicians and Chirurgeons come to visit them, and if the disease grow

grow dangerous, all the Sacraments are administred to them. Those who commit any fault are whipped in a most cruel manner. They stretch them out at length with their Bellies upon the ground ; and while two men hold them, a third striketh violently with a great knotted rope upon their Buttocks, which oftentimes teareth off the skin, and large pieces of flesh with it. I have seen more than once, how that after such whipping they have been forced to make deep incisions, which degenerating into Ulcers, render these unhappy wretches incapable of working for a long time.

When one of the coupled Slaves hath business in the Town, they permit him to go thither, even without his Companion, if he desireth it, paying a Guard, who may follow him every where. In that case he is forced to carry his Chain alone, and as it is very long he layeth it over his Shoulder, letting it hang down before or behind, as himself shall find most convenient.

C H A P. XXXVI.

I presented diverse Petitions to the Inquisition to obtain my Liberty, which is at last granted to me.

THE day after my arrival into the Galley, I was shaved, clothed, and employed in labour as the other slaves ; but how laborious soever this manner of life was to me, the liberty of seeing and speaking to the whole world, rendred it much less troublesome to me than the horrible Solitudes of the Inquisition. According to the terms of my Sentence, I was to pass 5 years in this rude slavery, and there was no great appearance that any favour would be shewed to a man who had spoken against the Integrity and Infallibility of the *Holy Office*. Nevertheless the desire which all unhappy persons naturally have to see their misery ended, made me think of some means to recover my Liberty much sooner than I was otherwise probably to expect it ; I first enquired whether there were any *French* at *Lisbon*, who might serve me in the design which I had. And having learned that Mr. — first Physician to the *Queen of Portugal*, was not only favoured by that Princess, but also by all the Grandees of the Court, I addressed my self to him, and begged of him that he would grant me his Protection ; this he did in the most obliging manner in the World, offering not only his interest in all things which lay in his power, but also his Purse and his Table, where he did me the honour to give me a place, enchaind as I was, whensoever liberty of going

going to him was granted me; so that the Habit of a Gally-slave rendred me not more contemptible in his esteem. He had also the goodness to visit me in Prison, and administer comfort to me, whensoever his affairs permitted him.

I writ in the next place into *France*, to my kindred, to give them an account of the deplorable condition whereinto I had been for a long time reduced, that they might solicit, either by themselves, or by others, those persons whom they might imagine to have any interest with the *Queen of Portugal*, who I hoped would interpose in my behalf. I must not here omit, that the Liberty which was afterwards granted to me, was no other than the effect of the powerful Protection of Mr. — In effect Mr. — who was naturally generous and beneficent, knowing that he had the goodness to interest himself in obtaining my Liberty, redoubled his diligence, to cause it to be obtained the sooner. I presented, by his advice, an ample Petition to the Inquisitors, wherein I briefly declared the causes of my Imprisonment, and requested them to moderate the excessive severity which I pretended to have been exercised against me in the *Indies*.

No answer was returned to this Petition, no more than to three or four others, which followed it in less than two months; and the reason of this silence was, That the Office of the Inquisitor General was then vacant, and *Monsieur Don Verissimo de Lencastea*, Archbishop of *Braga*, afterwards Archbishop of *Lisbon*, and at present Cardinal, having been but lately promoted, had not yet taken possession.

This Prelate, for whose coming I made continual Vows, as knowing that he alone could determine my business, arrived at last at *Lisbon*, towards the Holy Week: But since in that time the Tribunals are not open, I was yet forced to have patience till after *Quasimodo Sunday*. As soon as the Inquisitor General had entred upon the Functions of his Office, I presented a new Petition to him, which was carried to the Supreme Council; but all which it produced, was, that *Don Verissimo* said, That he could not believe that what I related was true, there being no appearance that they would have condemned a man to serve 5 years in the Gallies for matters of so little consequence.

This answer, of which an account was given to me, produced so much the more joy in me, because every one assured me, that the Prelate with whom I had to do, was equally noble, learned and generous; all this induced me to cause a new Petition to be presented to him, to intreat him to give himself the trouble to read my Process, that so he might by that means, perceive that I had offered nothing to him but what was most true; this proposition met with great difficulties in the Council, none of them being willing to consent to this review of my Process, which I de-

fired, because all the Tribunals of the Inquisition being supreme, and no appeal laying from one to the other, this would be to intrench upon the Authority of the Inquisition of *Gna*, and to go about to reform its Decrees; this was so great an obstacle, that I had never obtained my desires, if the Inquisitor General had not strongly solicited in favour of me.

At last, after many earnest addresses to him, he suffered himself to be overswayed by the solicitations of diverse Persons of Quality, and chiefly of his Niece, the Countess of *Figuerol*, who had a very particular esteem for the first Physician of the Queen. He carried then my Process to be read at length in his presence, and being convinced that I had proposed nothing false to him, and withal, perceiving the injustice and ignorance of my Judges, who had condemned me upon pretence of my ill intention, he ordered that I should be restored to perfect liberty, writing with his own hand these words, at the bottom of my last Petition, *Seia solto como pede, e se vapor a France*, that is, Let him be set at Liberty as he desireth, and let him return to *France*.

CHAP. XXXVII.

My departure from Lisbon, and arrival in France.

MY Request being thus answered by the Inquisitor General, in the supreme Council, which is assembled from eight to eight, or from fifteen to fifteen days, was remitted to the Table of the Holy Office, where audience is held twice every day; these Messieurs immediately sent a Familiar to advertize me, that liberty was granted to me, that I should seek for a Vessel to go into *France*, and give notice of it to the Inquisition, who would not fail to imbark me therein.

I received this News the first of *June*, with a joy which persons who have not suffered Captivity will scarce be able to conceive; but afterwards reflecting upon the difficulty of finding a Vessel, and bargaining for my Passage, while I had not the liberty of acting, I represented to the Inquisitors by a Memoire which I caused to be presented to them, that it would be impossible for me to receive any benefit from the favour they had shewed to me, while I remained Chained, there being no possibility in so great a Town as *Lisbon*, to know what Ships come in, or go out of the Haven, unless a Man waits there himself, or hath some friend who may inform himself with diligence.

The Officers of the ordinary Council, who had maliciously and rigorously interpreted the words, which the Inquisitor generally made use
of

of to grant me liberty, in saying I shou'd be set at liberty as I desired, and go into *France*, explained these latter words, which were indeed added as a surplussage of favour to me, as an absolute obligation of immediately embarquing my self; and so made answer for my Memoire, That they would grant me my desire, on condition, I would give caution, and procure Sureties, that I would stay no longer at *Lisbon* than was necessary to obtain an opportunity of being gone. This answer was signified to me the 28th of *June*; I went immediately to give an account to Mr. ——— and intreated him to finish that matter which he had so kindly begun. Some urgent affairs hindred him from going the same day to the Inquisition, but going thither the 30 of the same month in the morning, and giving caution for me, that in default of my being gone at the first opportunity, he would pay four hundred Crowns: They sent in the Afternoon of the same day, being the last of *June* 1677, a Familiar to the Galley, who caused my Irons to be taken off, and carried me to the Holy Office; where being called in the presence of the Inquisitors, they asked, whether I knew the Queens Physician, They told me he had given caution for me; that themselves extended their favour to me, and that from that moment I might go whether I pleased. Then commanding me to withdraw, I answered only with a profound reverence, and was immediately freed from the Tyrannical Power of the Holy Office, under the rigour of which I had groaned almost four years; continuing from the day of my Imprisonment, *August* the 24th 1673, to the last of *June* 1677.

As soon as I had set foot out of this terrible House, I went into the next Church, to render thanks to God and the Holy Virgin, for the liberty I had just now obtained. I went in the next place to Mr. ——— who wept for joy, embracing me. I then took a turn to the Galley, to give my last adieu to those poor afflicted Persons, who had been the Companions of my Misfortune; and to take away that little Luggage which remained to me. I enquired with all possible diligence, when any Ship would part for *France*, having much greater desire to be gone, that so I might get out of the Jurisdiction of the Inquisitors, than they could have for my departure. I found one in a short time; upon which I embarqued my self; and after having passed thorough some light Fatigues, I had the happiness to arrive in my Country in perfect Health.

C H A P. XXXVIII.

The History of a Gentleman, which will serve to shew the Spirit of the Holy Office.

I Will finish this Discourse of the Inquisition with the Relation of what I know to have happened to two Persons, whom I saw in the Galley at *Lisbon*, who were there before me, and remained there when I came out, and with whom I had particular Discourses, upon the account of my own, and their Cases.

The first of these unfortunate Gentlemen bore the Office of Major of a Regiment, when he was apprehended, he was of the race of new Christians, and was accused to have Judaized, by persons who in all probability had no other means to save their lives than by confessing themselves guilty of the same Crime, and naming many Innocents, endeavouring to find out the Witnesses whom they were obliged to guess at by the Inquisition; this poor Officer thus accused, was seized, and shut up in the Prisons of the Holy Office, he was examined diverse times to learn from his own mouth the cause of his imprisonment, but he not being able to tell it, since he knew it not himself, after he had been kept more than two years, they let him know that he was legally accused and convicted of being an Apostate *Jew*, which he always stoutly denied, protesting that he had never ceased to be a Christian, and submitted to none of all those accusations wherewith he was charged; nothing was omitted to oblige him to confess, not only Life, but also the restitution of his Goods were promised to him; he was afterwards terrified with threatening of a cruel Death, but none of all these things could shake his constancy. And he boldly declared to his Judges, that he would choose rather to dye innocent, than to preserve his life by an act of Cowardice; which would for ever overwhelm him with Infamy. The Duke of *De Aveiro*, who was then Inquisitor General, and passionately desired to save the life of this Prisoner, vehemently exhorted him to make use of those means which were offered to him, of preserving himself from execution. And because the accused person had testified a constant resolution of never yielding to render himself infamous, by a base confession of those Crimes which he had never committed, the Inquisitor General offended with his seeming obstinacy, was transported so far, as to say to him *Cuides que aves de ganhar?* That is, What do you then pretend to? Do you think that we have belied you? And so withdrew, leaving to the Prisoner to think at leisure what he had to do. The words of this Judge include a very strange sense, and may justly give occasion to reflections, which

which are neither advantageous to himself nor to the *Holy Office*, for this was very near as if he should say, We will rather cause you to be burnt as guilty; than let the World believe that we have Imprisoned you innocent.

At last, the Act of Faith approaching, after more than three years Imprisonment, our Major heard the Sentence of Death pronounced against him; and a Confessor was given to him to dispose him for it. This Gentleman, who had hitherto appear'd so resolute, was terrified by the approaches and preparation of his execution: inasmuch as hearing the Evening before the ceremony, acknowledged all which was desir'd of him against himself, however false; he appeared at the procession vested with one of those *samaras* covered with fire, whose flames tend downward, which is called in *Portuguese fogo revolto*; to shew that by his confession, however late, he had avoided death, after he had been justly Condemned to it; and by sentence of the Inquisition beside the confiscation of his goods he was condemned to the Gallies for five years.

He had then served there more than two years when I arrived at *Lisbon*; and it was in that place, and from his own mouth, that I learned what I have now related.

C H A P. XXXIX.

A Gentleman, one of the greatest Quality in *Portugal*, who was a *New Christian*, and very Rich, named *Lewis Pecoadeſta*, having intermeddled in diverse Criminal Causes, but in the *Laick* Judicature, had thereby contracted the hatred of many persons. These finding no better means to Revenge themselves of him, accused him to the *Holy Office*, as making secret Profession of Judaism, together with his Family; so that in the same day, his Wife, his two Children, his Daughter, and some others of his who dwell with him in his House, were Arrested, and shut up in the Prison of the Inquisition of *Coimbra*.

Lewis Peco was first examined, to draw from him a particular account of his Goods, of which the Immoveable alone yielded thirty thousand *Livers* Rent; and all this, as well as the Moveables, was buried in the Treasures of the *Holy Office*. They urged him in the next place, to declare the cause of his Imprisonment, which he could not do, knowing nothing of it. All ways were attempted which the Inquisition is wont to make use of, to oblige accused persons to confess their Crimes; but all this shook not the Constancy of *Lewis Peco*. At last, almost three years being elapsed, the Promotor signified to him the Crimes whereof he was accused, and the Sentence of Death which would be put upon him, if he relolved not to confess. He endeavoured to justify himself, protested all the Facts whereof he was accused were so many falsties, desired he might know his Witnesses who had deposed against him, whom he undertook easily to convince of Perjury; and offered many Arguments to his Judges, whereby they might have clearly perceived his Innocence, if they would have made use of them. But the Inquisitors without having any respect to what he alledged in his own defence, seeing him to persist in denying the Accusation, condemned him to the Fire, and acquainted him with his formal Sentence 15 days before the Execution.

The Duke of *Cadaval*, who loved *Lewis Peco*, to whom he had been Godfather, and who was an intimate friend of the Duke d'*Aveira*, informed himself from time to time of all particulars concerning the condition of the Prisoners Case; and knowing from the Inquisitor General, that the Prisoner Confessing nothing, and being otherwise sufficiently Convicted, according to the Maxims of the *Holy Office*, could not escape the Fire, if he
accused

accused not himself before his being carried forth to Execution, was infinitely concerned for him. He desired leave to speak or write to this unfortunate Gentleman, to persuade him to save his life at any price whatsoever; but this was not possible. At last he bethought himself of an Invention, which is so singular, that it never happened to any other in *Portugal*; which was to gain a promise from the Inquisitor General, that if he could persuade *Lewis Pecos* to confess even after his being carried forth to Execution at the *Alt of Faith*, he should not be put to Death; although this was directly contrary to the Laws of the *Holy Office*; this being promised to him, and he knowing the day wherein the *Alt of Faith* was to be Celebrated at *Coimbra*, he sent from *Lisbon* some of his own friends, and others of *Lewis Pecos*, who post themselves at the Door of the Inquisition, when the Procession began, that they might approach to their unhappy Friend as soon as they should see him appear.

As he was condemned, so the pile of Wood was made ready for him. He bore a *Casaca* and a *Sanarra* covered with flames and Devils, his Picture was drawn to the Life before and behind, placed upon burning fire-brands. His Sentence was written at the bottom, and his Confessor walk'd by his side; his friends had no sooner spied him, but breaking out into tears, they cast themselves upon his Neck, and begged of him in the name of the Duke of *Calavalle*, and by all that was most dear to him, to think of saving his life. They acquainted him with the assurance which they had received, that he should not be Executed if he would confess; and remonstrated to him, that the loss of his Estate ought not to create any difficulty in him, since the Duke, who had sent them to him, had charged them to assist him in his Name, that he would bestow upon him more than was taken from him. All these Reasons, together with the tears and solicitations of his generous friends, could not move *Lewis Pecos*; who continued to protest with a loud voice, that he had always been a Christian, that he would dye such; and that all whereof he had been accused, were so many falsties invented by his enemies to take Revenge upon him, and made use of the *Holy Office* to reap the spoil of his Estate.

The Procession being arrived at the appointed place, the Sermon was preached; the Process of those whose lives were saved was Read, and the evening being come, they began to read the Processes of those who were to be burned: The Deputies of the Duke then redouble their entreaties, and at last made their friend consent to demand audience. He rose up, and said, Let us go then and acknowledge these falsties, to satisfy the desire of our friends. Audience was granted to him, and he was led back into Prison. But the *Alt of Faith* being finished when they called him to the Table to confess, he had much more difficulty to resolve himself; and was diverse times upon the point of suffering his Sentence to be confirmed, without any hope of mercy: Yet at last he confessed what they would, and signed his Confession.

Two years more being elapsed from the time of his being carried forth to execution, he was sent to *Evora*; where he appeared in the *Alt of Faith*, wearing a *Sanarra* with the fire inverted: And after he had stay'd five years in the Prison of the *Holy Office*, he was farther condemned to the Gallies for five years, and was sent thither the morrow after: And there it was that I knew him, and learned from him the particulars of that which I have here related.

This unfortunate Gentleman, who appeared to be a very honest and tolerable good Christian, learnt after his enlargement, that his Wife and Daughter died in Prison, a little while after they had been shut up; and that his two Sons, less constant than himself, having accused themselves in time, had been enlarged some time before, and condemned to a Banishment for ten years into the *Algarves*. As for himself, he expected only the moment to be freed; as I was, and his design was to quit *Portugal* as soon as possible, and go spend the rest of his life in some Country where the Inquisition should have no place.

